THURSTON COUNTY RAINBOW COALITION VOLUME 1, NUMBER 7 DECEMBER 1990
FREE

WORKS IN PROGRESS

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE AT FORT LEWIS

by Pat Holm

Seven people participated in civil disobedience at the Fort Lewis Base October 27 as part of a anti-intervention demonstration to show support and solidarity with Jeff Paterson. Jeff Paterson refused to go to Saudi Arabia to fight in what he considered a war for oil. I chose to interview Ceridwen Terrill because I had spoken to her earlier at the demonstration and was later surprised to see her amongst those walking over the line. She was the only woman in the group, so my identification with her was strong. I could imagine myself or my daughter walking over the line onto the base and I was deeply moved. Not that I wasn't moved by the men crossing over, but somehow I felt the strength of the military police on her body, as though it were my body. I experienced the tackle to the dirt on her woman's body as a violation of my own.

Ceridwen's first words at the interview were:

"Unnecessarily brutal"

Pat: Why did you decide to participate in civil disobedience that day?

Ceridwen: I believed it was really important to get to G.I.s. We were passing out the flyers explaining to the G.I.s how Jeff Paterson had refused to go to Saudi Arabia and I really wanted to get that message to them.What part does civil disobedience play in demonstrations for peace? There is 'law' and then there is 'what you believe in' morals. When laws go against what you believe is moral, you must challenge them to change them. If laws are by the people and for the people, people should be able to change laws they don't believe in.

Pat: Why didn't you go through the political process to change this law?

Ceridwen: Because I believe the political process, as it is now, maintains an unequal society.

Pat: What was your experience October 27, the day of the demonstration at Fort Lewis? That morning?

Ceridwen: I made my decision before I got to the demonstration that I would participate in civil disobedience. But I didn't know what it would be.

Pat: At the demonstration?

Ceridwen: Students, young people haven't found their place in the movement yet. The Vietnam vets are leading the movement now. Young people must find their voice because there is no draft now. If there were a draft, people would be angry, young people would find their place. Don't get me wrong, I don't want a draft. Young people will find their place. Commanding officers don't want G.I.s to have this information (about Jeff Paterson and his resistance). Madigan Gate (at Fort Lewis) is a public place where we could distribute this information and talk about it.

Pat: Did you know your fellow companions?

Ceridwen: No, only one Evergreen student, Pat Gihring. I had met two of the Vets at other demonstrations in Portland.

Pat: How did you feel as you walked toward the Military Police?

Ceridwen: When the 7 of us linked arms and crossed the line, the young people behind found their place in the demonstration and their voices got incredibly loud - a breaking through. Seeing us defying the law and upholding our morals lit a fire. It made it real and gave the movement life. This is serious, we're here at the [military] base demonstrating against U.S. military aggression in the middle East and the lack of meeting human needs at home.

Pat: What did it feel like to be tackled?

Ceridwen: There were two men. One grabbed me around my chest. Orders were given in a normal tone of voice,"OK, grab em." These people were vicious expecting violence from us. I was thrown to the ground. I got a bruise on my face but my hat deflected the fall to my head. They really pulled the arms behind your back, hard.

Pat: Have you played football or other contact sports?

Ceridwen: No, but I'm physically fit.

Pat: Were you conscious of what was happening to the other six?

Ceridwen: I saw Pat [Gihring]. And 2 people on him. I looked straight ahead and they shoved my hat down over my face.

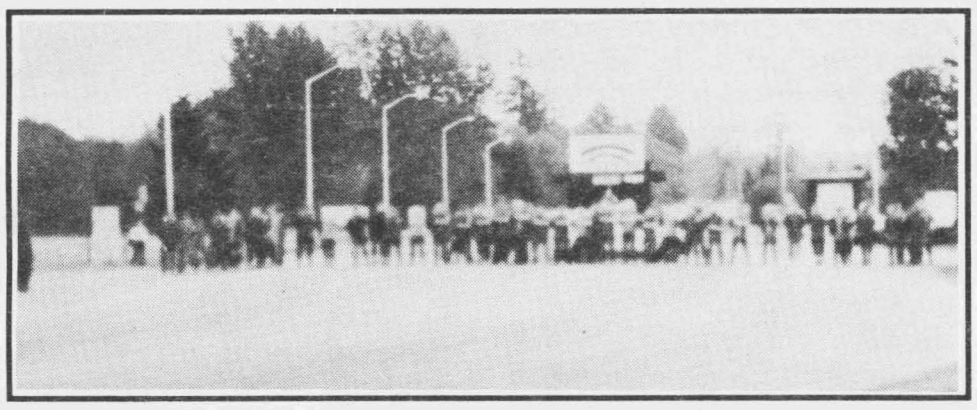
Pat: Were you kept separate because you were female?

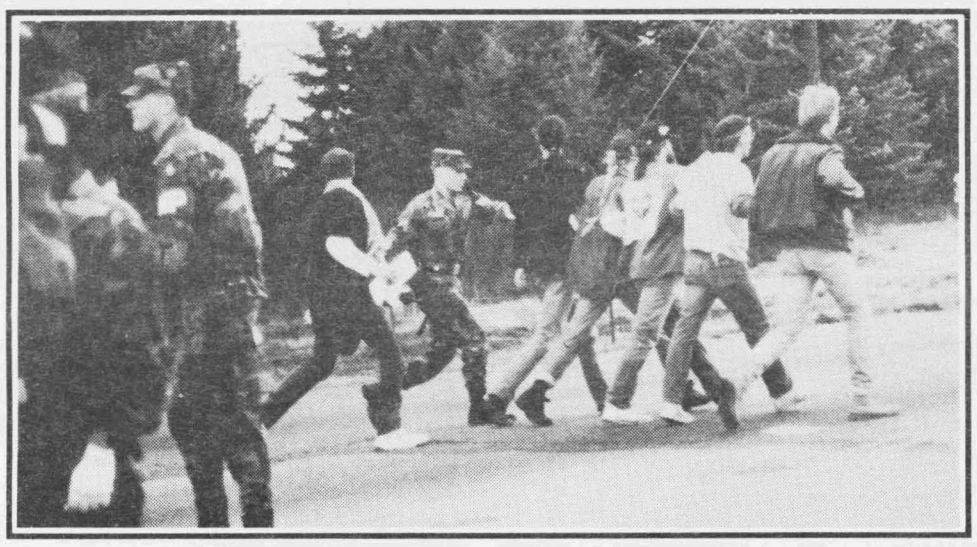
Ceridwen: No. They took our photographs with a riot policemen, they were all men, on either side holding our arms. I was still handcuffed. One young student nearly passed out because the handcuffs had been put on too tight. His hands were blue from lack of blood. They had to be taken off with needle nosed pliers. There were bruises to the head, scrapes to the face and one Vet had his shoulder dislocated.

Pat: How long were you detained?

(Continued on page 16)

When the 7 of us linked arms and crossed the line, the young people behind found their place in the demonstration and their voices got incredibly loud - a breaking through.





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Letters

Matt's Letter

Matt (WIP graphic artist):

Got your newspapers. Both Liane and I think your drawing is first class - definitely national caliber. You will succeed as an illustrator if you want to. Just try.

Steven Dillman
Kansas City

Meta's New Class

Meta Heller has announced that she will be teaching a class on Classical Analysis I - a six week course - every Sunday afternoon from 2 to 4 pm beginning January. The cost will be $34 and the proceeds will go to the Washington State Georgist Association.

Students will be taking part in an inquiry into the nature of Human behavior. The class will be tapping into several disciplines, including economics, psychology, sociology, and ecology. The inquiry will lead to some useful understanding of ourselves and others. Although the study will work through theoretical concepts, the conclusions are completely practical.

The program was developed by Harry Pollard, Executive Director of the Henry George Schools of California. Classical Analysis is being taught in Los Angeles, San Francisco and New York City on an on-going basis. This would be the first time in the State of Washington.

Sunday January 6 - Basic Assumptions - How all people behave.

Sunday January 13 - Instinct and Choice - How we differ from other animals.

Sunday January 20 - Survival & Immortality - And the principal of reciprocity.

Sunday January 27 - Concepts, Definitions & Names - Making yourself understood.

Sunday February 3 - People, Places, Things - Cutting the universe into bite-size chunks.

Sunday February 10 - Simplifying Concepts - Cutting off the flat with sharp definitions.

Sunday February 17 - Round-up discussion for anyone interested. A look at Classical Analysis courses II, III, and IV.

Meta Heller, a free-lance writer & student of taxes, met Harry Pollard, an Englishman from Manchester, in Los Angeles this summer while on vacation to attend a nephew's wedding.

A Note From Mary

Dear Friends -

This was a great newspaper and I thank Dave Jette for his generous gift and for his excellent article in it as well.

I am saddened, outraged, and ashamed by the actions of the people who have suspended Dave from the Rainbow. If we can't speak the truth in the Rainbow Coalition, where can we?

They are acting like the very bureaucrats we are trying to defeat.

Sincerely,
Mary
Mt Vernon

Editors' Note: Dave Jette covered the cost of mailing W.I.P. to all the state members of the Washington State Rainbow Coalition. Mary was one of the recepients.

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Works In Progress is a community newspaper sponsored by the Thurston County Rainbow Coalition. Opinions expressed do not necessarily reflect those of the Rainbow Coalition or the WIP Editorial Board.

Keep those letters and cards coming. Correspondence and articles are always welcome. Send submissions to Works in Progress, PO Box 295, Olympia, WA 98507.

Do It For Peace

Dear fellow travelers:

BIKE FOR PEACE
WALK FOR PEACE
CARPOOL FOR PEACE
VANPOOL FOR PEACE
BUS FOR PEACE...
IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Petroleum products aren't good for us: car exhaust hurts our lungs and we don't want our soldiers to give their lives or limbs so we can continue to enjoy a convenient lifestyle in our Single Occupancy Vehicle.

The U.S. only imports 11.5 percent of its oil from the Middle East, and in 1985 the figure was only 2.7 percent. Conservation would help eliminate U.S. dependence on Middle East oil while preserving our enviroment.

Intercity Transit has a computer network to help hook us up with others to carpool or vanpool from our neighborhoods. They have vans we can use for 12 or more people for our commute to work in Thurston County. Call "Ridesharing" at 786-8585.

Many of you have been leading the way for the rest of us already. Thanks for the examples!

More of us can DO IT!

Pat Holm, Dave Link, Jim Morley, Ellen Atkinson

Thanks to All Our Authors, Subscribers, and Supporters

Over the last few months, starting with our trial issue in May, we have learned a great deal and have made many mistakes. With very little money we have produced a monthly publication that has reached thousands and we are committed to continue. Most amazing, though, is the realization of the phenomenal talent that lies within the people of our community. The stories that might not have been to ld, the stories that have yet to be told.

We thank each of our authors, both for articles and for letters. As there can be no children without mothers and fathers, WIP certainly could not and would not exist without our contributors.

We also give our undying appreciation to those who have supported us by personal subscriptions, donations or ad subscriptions. They are helping us to survive during a time when the paper is developing its personality and its abilities. We would like to especially thank AFSCME Local 443, Carpenters Local 1148, American Postal Workers Local 2354, WPEA, the District Council of Carpenters of Seattle, the Carpenter's Local in Yakima, Olympia Food Co-op, Blue Heron Bakery and Always Safe & Lock for their confidence in our work.

As this is Volume No. 1 for Works In Progress, this is WIP's first winter holiday and we welcome it. This season, originally an European event celebrating the shortest day of the year, has become for many a period of peace, goodwill, forgiveness, and most importantly, a time of giving and receiving, of showing our love.

Authors in WIP - '90

Pat Tassoni
Cal Swan
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Maureen Sheimo
Brenda Sanders
Steve Salmi
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Thomas Mitchell Freeman
Russ Fox
Tom Flint
Betty DeRamus
Jo Curtz
Regina Costa
Tom Connelly
Alexander Cockburn
Gene Cade
Dennis Bolton
Bill Bolte
James C. Boling
Pete Bohmer
Mark Bean
Don Arlow
Glen Anderson

In The Works. . .

"The newspaper like the Rainbow paper gets news that is first hand to people and the regular news I've seen doesn't have enough balance," says Virgilio Bravo. We couldn't agree more. Bravo, part of a visiting delegation from Nicaragua, was referring to *Works in Progress* in a recent question and answer session sponsored by Thurston-Santo Tómas Sister County Association. Highlights of that discussion in *Works In Progress* this month. Additionally, eyewitness accounts of conditions in human rights war zones - Chile and nearby Fort Lewis are featured.

This is the season of peace and hope. Never mind that industrial world "leaders" have preparations for war dominating their agenda. Can we, as citizens, become inured to the schizophrenic mindset required to live in a country preparing for war while celebrating peace?

With the Middle East on most peoples' minds these days -local writers Ron Jacobs, Glen Anderson, and Patrick Tassoni, and national columnist Alexander Cockburn share thought provoking analyses of a grave situation turning worse. Jacobs looks at the role of the protester, Anderson gives an historical background, Tassoni describes a unique rally attracting local youth, and Cockburn discusses U.S. governmental plans for a media blackout.

Also in *WIP* issues of significance locally and nationally. Steve Salmi provides an analysis of the recent defeat of the Thurston County charter - its ramifications for the local progressive community and the opportunities for re-structuring. Thurston County carpenters Don Arlow and Cal Swan speak out against the General Administration's Master Plan and its failure to consider the needs of the local community. Why is it, by the way, that when the government holds a public meeting and the public shows up, the government panics and seeks to isolate those who dare to question their decisions?

Speaking of government decisions, it's Washington state, do you know where your investment dollars are going? Inside, Teresa Jennings challenges state pension holders to invest time and attention for the long-term and act on the basis of their values.

Monthly columnists Dave Jette and Tom Freeman contemplate social activism and the problems created when reliance on leadership becomes the mainstay for how we act to promote change.

Also from a community standpoint, Detroit resident Betty DeRamus presents yet more startling testimony about the death of the American Dream and a not so distant future in a land that is not so far, far away.

Cyclists come join in a ride for peace

12:00 Dec. 8

Begins and ends in Sylvester Park, circling thru downtown

Call 357-4151

Works in Progress would like to take this opportunity to thank all of you who support the work we do. The comments and contributions we've received have been heartwarming. Much *Progress* has been made, yet much *Work* remains to be done. Alas, this is still a capitalist society. We still need money. Subscriptions are vital to our economic health. Gift subscriptions are excellent dollar investments which pay off in two ways - by building the paper and tilling the grassroots soil for progressive thought. You'll find a subscription blank on this page.

In the spirit of the Rainbow, may you find the common ground that will unite the world in peace and justice, and share it with your neighbor.

--Tom Freeman and Teresa Jennings for the Editorial Board.

An Open Letter of Celebration to the Community

We would like to thank the three hundred community people who attended the November 7th public meeting at the General administration auditorium about the State Master Plan for State Facilities in Thurston County. Such a turn out show that many others in the community, besides the union carpenters, were looking for leadership from General Administration. Our community can claim a victory in the battle for these concerns:

*More time to consider the documents of the State Master Plan for State Facilities in Thurston County. The state extended the time for written comments to December 9th.

*An adequate number of these documents will now be provided to the public. Originally only about 250 were printed, we are now expecting 500 to 1000 soon. Please address your request for these documents to:
Robert Arndt,
Facilities Planning Manager
207 General Administration Bldg
Mail Stop AX 22
Olympia, WA 98504-0622
Phone: 753-0501

What Else Can We Expect From General Administration?

* We want them to notify the public of the date of the official public hearing for these documents and the Draft Environmental Impact Statement. We hope they will do this with adequate advance notice, at least two weeks.

*We will continue to press for the state to address these issues in the documents:

1) Local Jobs for Local Workers. The impact of tax dollar circulation in our state and community.

2) Worker representatives on all boards of review, pre-qualification juries, and design selection juries.

3) State Employees Local 443 recommendations on the state building environment.

4) State approved apprenticeship programs for skilled craft training should be required in all construction contract language.

WE WANT TO THANK THESE PEOPLE FOR PARTICIPATING IN THE MEETING AT THE GENERAL ADMINISTRATION AUDITORIUM ON NOVEMBER 7TH ON THE STATE MASTER PLAN:

Thurston County Rainbow Coalition, Olympia Downtown Association, State Capitol Museum, City of Olympia, City of Tumwater, Sensible Growth Coalition, Olympia Building Trades, State Employees Local 443-AFSCME, Washington Public Employees Association, Washington State Building and Construction Trades Council, Thurston-Lewis Counties Labor Council, REBOUND, Northwest Fair Contracting Association, and the individual citizens of this community that support democratic, open public forums.

Solidarity,
Olympia Carpenters Local #1148
Organizing Committee, members and families.
119 1/2 Capitol Way North,
Olympia, WA 98501. Ph: 754-4038

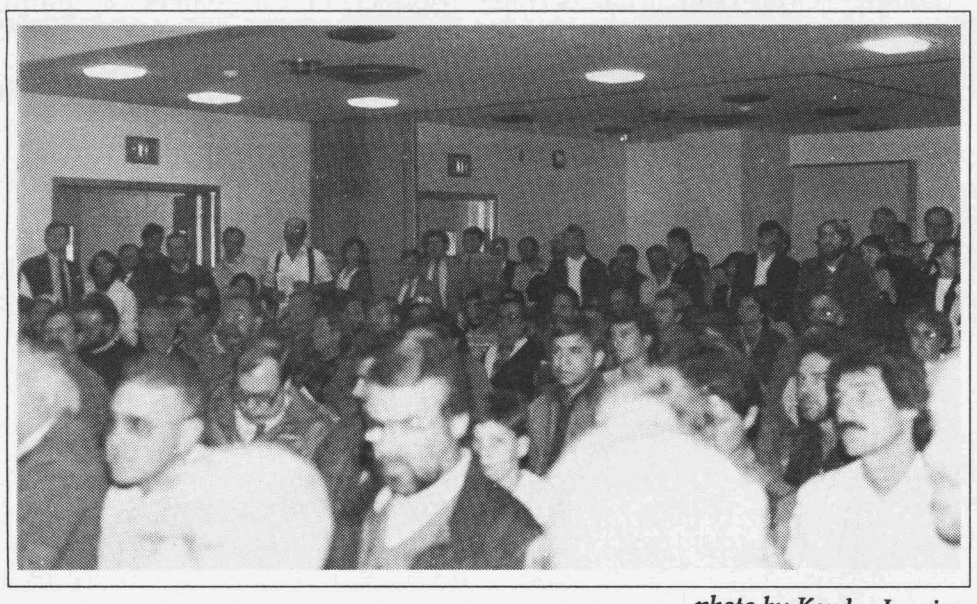

photo by Kendra Jennings

Hemp Letter

Works in Progress:

Cris Conrad director of BACH (Business Alliance for Commerce in Hemp) forwarded your letter and papers to my wife judy. I read the copies of Works in Progress you sent us and found them to be quite interesting. We had no idea some people actually think forests would be cut down to make room to grow hemp. Activists in the hemp movement see hemp as a natural resource to replace the need to use trees to make paper-- not literally replace the trees with hemp. We are glad to have the opportunity to clear this misunderstanding through your paper.

Sincerely,
Lynn Osburn, CA

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Works In Progress, c/o TCRC, PO Box 295, Olympia, WA 98507

White House Plans Media Blackout of Iraq

by Alexander Cockburn

If the U.S. does launch an attack against Iraq, don't expect to get live CNN reports from Bagdad. A White House staffer privy to war plans recently confided to one foreign journalist that among the first targets of U.S. bombers over Bagdad would be the satelite uplinks, thus diminishing, or at least delaying, the transmission of disturbing pictures of carnage wrought by the bombing and also impeding the Iraqi leadership from making any direct statements to the outside world.

The disclosure suggests a couple of things: one, that detailed "decapitation" plans-of the sort that Air Force Gen. Michael J. Dugan got fired for disclosing-are still being laid; two, that the White House and Pentagon would make every effort, as in Panama, to restrict information and coverage of the large-scale destruction and death that war with Iraq would produce.

In the past few weeks, every pronouncement of President Bush and Secretary of State James Baker had to be set against the backcloth of last Tuesday's mid-term elections. In tune with the requirements of each campaign stop, the president rattled his saber or invoked his hopes for a peaceful settlement.

But now, with the elections over, what are the likely scenarios for resolution of the Gulf crisis? From Saddam Hussein's viewpoint, the situation has shown steady improvement since the days immediately following his August 2 invasion of Kuwait, when it seemed quite possible that the U.S. would launch an immediate attack.

The international unity of policy and purpose is beginning to erode and the seizure of hostages showing useful results, as streams of international figures such as Britian's Edward Heath or Japan's Yasuhiro Nakasone arrive in Bagdad to plead for the release of their nationals. Gorbachov's personal envoy, Yevgeny Primakov, gives mixed signals and Gorbachov himself, in Paris at Mitterand's side, announces that the military option-an attack on Iraq to force it out of Kuwait- is virtually unthinkable. Although a week later Primakov said that Gorbachov had been mistranslated and that force might be ultimately necessary under U.N. auspices, It's clear that the Soviet leader is still strongly in the camp calling for a negotiated settlement.

Recruits to Bush's initial drive for sanctions are beginning to waver, or at least insist at increasing volume that they will be no party to anything beyond the trade embargo imposed by the U.N. Security Council. Only Margaret Thatcher (the UK's economy has been boosted by soaring North Sea oil prices) gives vociferous suppport to Secretary of State Baker's position that Article 51 of the U.N. Charter (permitting emergency unilateral action to counter invasion prior to collective U.N. decisions) renders it unnecessary for the U.S. to get the go-ahead from the Security Council to launch a military attack.

Under growing internal pressure, Turkey's President Turgut Uzal is emphasizing that his country does not see itself as the launch point for a second front against Iraq from the north. Syria, having taken advantage of the rapprochement with the U.S. to wipe out Gen. Michel Auon's Christian militia in Lebanon, is now signaling its displeasure at what it sees as destabilizing U.S. deliveries to Israel of Patriot missiles, adding that Bush's reaction to the massacre of 21 Palestinians near the Dome of the Rock was disgracefully feeble.

A few days later, amid suspicions of a quick dose of Saudi aid to brace Syria's resolve, Syrian Information Minister Mohammed Salman announced that Syria was committed to sending troops to the Gulf and would send further troops. But the hot/cold rhetoric of the Syrian leadership suggests its ambivalent attitude toward the coalition. There are signs that other Arab nations mey be inclining toward the same view, despite the initial furious roars from Egypt and Saudi Arabia that Saddam and his entire apparat had to be extirpated.

Not only would a devasted Iraq leave Israel with enhanced power, it would also leave Iran as a potentially aggressive power threatening from the east, just as it has done for the past 2,500 years. And despite Turkey's recent insistence that trade sanctions (which are costing it dearly) represent the furthest extent of its committment, Arabs and Egyptians do not need to go back more than 75 years to remenber when they were vassals of the Ottoman Empire. Do they really want Turkey seizing Mosul as one of the prizes of the war against Iraq?

So Saddam can view these developments with satisfaction, just as he exulted when the Israeli slaughter in the Old City tested the U.S.- Arab coalition at its weakest point and when the third-ranking member of the Saudi family said that, in the event of a withdrawal from Kuwait, his "Iraqi brothers" might well expect to get decent access to the Gulf. The Saudi prince, who later made a rather unconvincing retraction, was thus suggesting that Kuwait should prepare itself to give up Bubiyan and Warbah islands, giving Iraq one of its prime objectives in the invasion.

The U.S. government's disquiet is commensurate with Saddam's satisfaction. As everyone predicted at the start, it is hard to hold together such an inherently unstable coalition for very long. The only thing that can be pointed to with some gratification is that the U.N. sanctions are having an effect. Though Saddam sacked his oil minister for imposing rationing of gasoline and diesel fuel, consumption of these fuels will still have to be curtailed because of the shortage of additives needed to produce them.

One commonly heard estimate is that sanctons will really start paralyzing Iraq's economy no earlier than next February. A report by the Economist Intelligence Unit in London said that despite such hardship "in two crucial aspects- food and fuel- Iraq and [Iraqi-occupied] Kuwait can survive for a number of months, perhaps until the end of March, 1991."

The rational path for the Bush government to pursue is the sustaining of sanctions and, in parallel, exploration of all avenues to a negotiated settlement of the kind hinted at by the Soviets and the French. But, by his own repeated and foolish public assertions that "no compromise" is possible on full Iraqi withdrawal, restoration of the emir, etc., Bush has seriously limited his capacity to maneuver.

Bush also faces renewed assault from the powerful Israel lobby in the U.S. which sees nothing but danger in any negotiated settlement that leaves Saddam in place and his military forces not substantially depleted. The president is also vulnerable to charges from such conservatives as Wiliam Buckley that, having committed more than 200,000 men and women to the Gulf, it would be an unacceptable defeat for the U.S. to withdraw them without the overthrow of Saddam.

Against such considerations are increasing realistic estimates of the appalling cost of any war in lives and money and the regional power balance. There is already a burgeoning peace movement in the United States and certainly no national consensus for war.

So uncompromising maintenance of sanctions, intimations that withdrawal by Iraq would bring satisfaction in terms of Gulf access and the Rumailah oil field and a conference on other territorial issues in the region would ultimately force Saddam's withdrawal, though he would bluff it out to the end. But there's no conclusive evidence from his political biography that the president has the tenacity and flexibility to pursue this course. War, like Rolaids, would bring him quick, if temporary, relief, even though the ailing economy would buckle under $100-a-barrel oil. The task of the peace movement should be to force him to the former option.

Regina Costa, No Sweat and WIP Board Member, covers the cost of Cockburn's column. Thank you!

The rational path for the Bush government to pursue is the sustaining of sanctions and, in parallel, exploration of all avenues to a negotiated settlement of the kind hinted at by the Soviets and the French.

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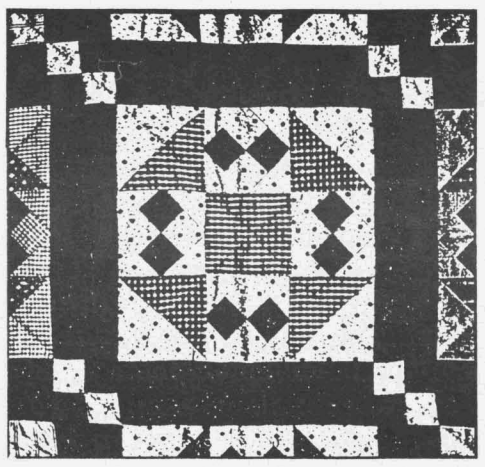


Patchworks

Voters' Reliance on Leaders Assures Status Quo

by Thomas Mitchell Freeman

Election night 1990. I'm sitting in class fidgeting and highly distracted. "Who's winning the Senate race in North Carolina?" I wonder. "Could Jesse Helms really lose to a black man? What's happening in Minnesota? [my home state] Hey, what about right here in the 3rd Congressional district? Will voters really consider replacing Jolene with Bob Williams?" Needless to say, I find it intensely difficult to focus on my academic activities this evening.

I confess that I am an electoral junkie. I love to watch returns come in, celebrating victories and mourning defeats. I rushed from class to Jolene's election night party. The energy was electrifying, the mood ecstatic. Now that the ballots are counted however, I'm reminded of a question I heard folk singer Utah Phillips ask when I was interviewing him on the radio. Phillips questioned the assumption that supporting one candidate over another makes any difference. "If voting really made a difference, do you think it would be legal?" he asked. Unfortunately, I think Phillips is right. Politicians work within the narrow ideological constraints of our corporate liberal system virtually guaranteeing that significant change will not happen.

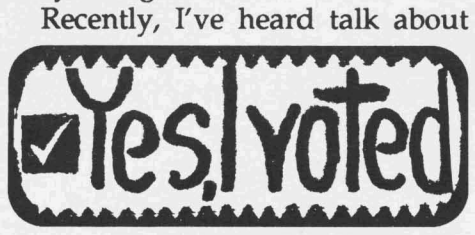
The following essay examines images of "leaders" and "leadership" based on two books *Creating the Political Spectacle* by Murray Edelman and *Treaties on Trial* by Fay Cohen. So often I hear people proclaim intentions to work "within the system" to make change. My question is: Does getting into the system truly allow people to effect significant change or does the system instead act to change individuals to accept the dominant culture's interpretations of society and life?

We are all aware of the traits that supposedly define an effective and "in-charge" leader: innovative, change-oriented, charismatic, visionary, etc. In *Creating the Political Spectacle*, Murray Edelman contends that the usual image of "leaders" and the characteristics commonly thought of as essential to effective "leadership" are in actuality the antithesis of "leadership." In reality, as Edelman asserts, "...leaders promote adherence to the status quo and must do so as the price of their power." (52) For proof of this claim, one need only look at the controversy generated by the Boldt decision on Indian fishing rights and the campaign waged by then-Attorney General Slade Gorton to stop the federal government from enforcing its treaty commitments.

In politics, the notion of change is directly tied to who is elected and from which political party. People invest countless hours volunteering for the election of a particular candidate to public office because they believe that the person they are working for best represents their views, or perhaps is less offensive than the "alternative". They expend an enormous amount of time, money, and energy with the ultimate goal of electing someone that can make the world better - based on each person's own self-interested viewpoint. Sadly, significant change is not likely to occur. As Edelman argues, the system assures adherence to a basic, fundamental vision of society, that of the individual and the role of government which we are culturally indoctrinated into believing and espousing.

Edelman sees "leaders" as "objectifications of whatever worries or pleases observers of the political scene because it is easy to identify with them, support or oppose them, love or hate them." (39) He further argues that "people who feel burdened by the responsibility for making difficult choices about their own lives and the lives of others can transfer that onus to a leader." (39) Leadership, then, is a tool to make us either comfortable with the world as we now understand it or to give us a personification of our discomfort with the way things are going. In either case, we need not stop and examine what it is that really frustrates us and how we can purposefully change it.

Recently, I've heard talk about



replacing incumbents with a whole new group of leaders. "Throw the bums out," has become a widely-known slogan. This ideology, which appears to be gaining attention and support, neglects to acknowledge or understand that leaders simply "exist to be noticed and to symbolize the actions of governmental bodies, their antecedents and their results." (45)

As labor educator and historian Dan Leahy points out in his analysis of who really governs, "elected leaders" make decisions within an agenda that's already defined for them - usually by representatives of the corporate community that dominates society." Failing to understand this power relationship, the disenfranchised public is usually able to be comforted by the forceful words of a concerned leader who vows to "take their concerns to Washington D.C."

When the public is feeling frustrated by the direction public policy is taking, especially in economic concerns, a leader who espouses comforting rhetoric and challenges the policy outright becomes exceedingly popular even when it is clear that their "leadership" is unrealistic or unproductive. Former Attorney General Slade Gorton's opposition to the infamous Boldt decision is a case in point.

Judge Boldt's decision of 1974, which reaffirmed six treaties negotiated between western Washington tribes and the United States government in 1854 and 1855 (Cohen 4), brought a groundswell of strident and angry reaction from commercial fisherman and the former Attorney General. A well educated attorney and public official, Gorton knew that the federal government's jurisdiction in upholding these treaties superceded the state's authority, yet he refused to accept the courts' rulings - even those of the United States Supreme Court. Gorton understood public opinion clearly. In Washington, it was overwhelmingly negative toward the Boldt decision and the alleged unfairness of reserving 50 percent of all salmon catches for Native Americans. His Assistant Attorney General, Jim Johnson, "encouraged commercial fisherman to believe that their legal assault would succeed...'The Boldt decision shall be overturned'". (91) Yet the federal jurisdiction over these matters had already been settled by the U.S. Supreme Court. Edelman refers to this posturing of false hope as "dishonesty in the service of expediency." (57)

For Slade Gorton, personal political power was the high stakes pay-off in fighting the enforcement of treaty rights as articulated in the Boldt decision. Cohen states that "Gorton began to refer to Indians as 'supercitizens' because of the rights which, in his view, the courts had bestowed on them. In the years following Judge Boldt's decision, he and attorneys in his office regarded the overturning of the ruling as a key mission." (90) By invoking the notion of supercitizenry - complete with unfair rights that the majority did not and could not share - Gorton was able to arouse the passion, anger, fear and frustration of the voting public and win the U.S. Senate race against Warren Magnuson. Edelman refers to this as "the construction and use of political enemies." (Chapter 4) He writes:

"Because politics involve conflict about material advantages, status, and moral issues, some people are always pitted against others and see them as adversaries or as enemies...they help give the political spectacle its power to arouse passions, fears and hopes, the more so because an enemy to some people is an ally or innocent victim to others." (66)

Upon election however, all Gorton could do was to sponsor a bill to decommercialize steelhead, a measure which had virtually no chance of passage and was simply designed to send a message to constituents that he still opposed tribal treaty rights reaffirmed by Boldt and upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court.

"elected leaders" make decisions within an agenda that's already defined for them - usually by representatives of the corporate community that dominates society."

Edelman's *Creating the Political Spectacle*, and Cohen's *Treaties on Trial* forced me to reassess my concept of leadership. "Leadership" isn't about change, "innovation" or even the basic values of truth and honesty. "Leadership" is about status-quo maintenance of the system - replete with inequities and injustice. The "leader" and the magician have much in common. Both invoke images and trickery to make people either believe that they see something that isn't there or blind people from not seeing something that is there. It is not reality. It is an illusionary sleight-of-hand card trick. Society remains enamored with its seductive imagery. We continue to believe that if the right people get into office, things will get better; the values which we hold dear - truth, justice, and honesty - will prevail. Sadly, controversy breeds discontent, and discontent breeds dishonesty. Left out of the picture is significant political debate, social change, and the honesty necessary for those who rule to acknowledge our government's systematic limitations.

Tom Freeman is an editorial board member for Works In Progress and a graduate student in Public Administration at the The Evergreen State College. His column appears monthly in WIP and he urges everybody to send multiple gift subscriptions for the holidays.

No Pride In GA's Master Plan

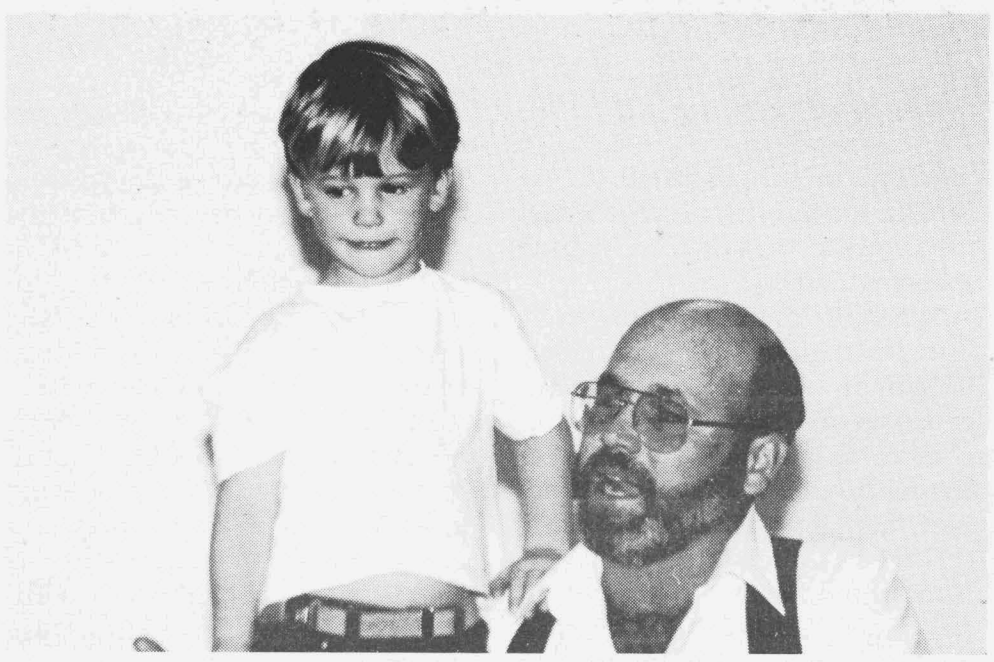


photo by Kendra Jennings

by Cal Swan

On November 7th I attended the public meeting in Olympia where the Master Plan for the Capitol of the State of Washington was presented. The General Administration Director and staff explained that 3.8 million square feet of office space will be needed for our state agencies in the next twenty years. They also expressed a desire for the state to own these new buildings instead of leasing them as they have been doing for fifteen years.

I sat and listened to all that was said, including General Administration's statement that "through this plan they would insure the state's capitol would remain a source of pride for residents throughout the state." Well, what had started off as a feeling of excitement over the proposed construction in this area, quickly changed to an ill feeling from deep within. You see, I couldn't help thinking about one of the first state-owned office buildings to be built in the last fifteen or twenty years, the Natural Resources Building, now under construction across the street from our State Capitol. The work force for the general contractor of this $73 million project are presently out of state, non-union employees of Hensel Phelps Construction Company, based in Greeley, Colorado. I couldn't imagine how a crew of this kind (from Texas, Colorado, California and New Jersey) could possibly build our state's Natural Resources Building with as much pride as our own state's union carpenters. After viewing pictures of some of the concrete voids in the building's core walls, it brought to mind a probable conversation of two of these carpenters saying to each other, "Well, I can't see it from my house, ha, ha."

. . . when I get turned down for a job by that contractor simply because I am in a union.

But I can. Although I am primarily a finish carpenter, I worked on the WPPSS project for 5 1/2 years and never saw any concrete pour as sad as that at the Hensel Phelps job. Knowing that my state tax monies are helping finance such a building makes me sick.

Presently my local union hall has a large out of work list, on which I've had to spend sometimes months at a time before my next job. I've had to leave this state, my home and family three times in the last three years to find work in my trade.

It's hard for me to swallow General Administration' leadership saying "we are following the letter of the law by not discriminating against out of state contractors", when I get turned down for a job by that contractor simply because I am in a union. That is discrimination against me, and I love this state.

Something is wrong with a system where local craftspeople can't work on a local job of this size. Especially one that is funded by our own tax dollars.

It is my belief that our great state's Natural Resources Building should not just stand for the trees, land, wildlife, or other beautiful parts of this state, but it should stand as a monument to our state's greatest natural resource, the craftsmen and women who work and live here.

Cal Swan is a carpenter who lives in Elma with his wife and family.

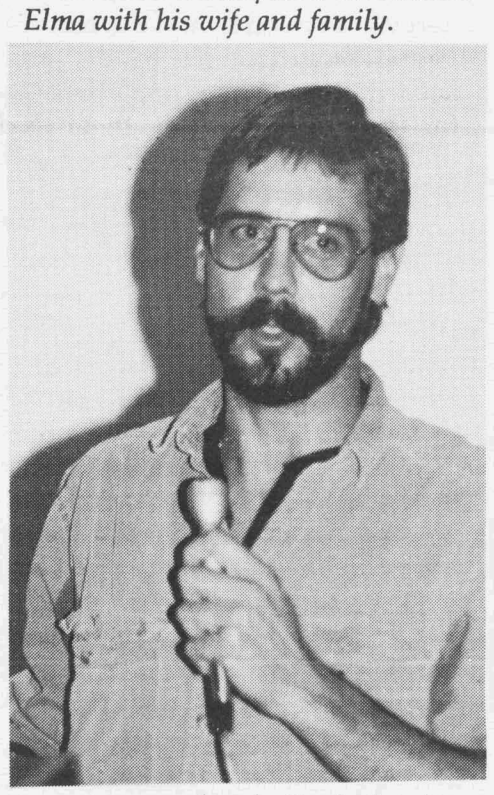


photo by Kendra Jennings

Worker's Don't Count to GA

by Don Arlow

On the evening of November 7th, 1990, officials of the Department of General Administration unveiled a draft version of the Master Plan for State Facilities to 300 interested and concerned citizens. As stated in its introduction, the purpose of the Master Plan is to provide a vision for the development of State Facilities over the next 20 years, and a blueprint to manifest that vision. The draft plan has been prepared in response to a mandate from the 51st Legislature. It is in most estimations a prodigious document which attempts to be both comprehensive and responsive to the core values and overall plan goals which the drafts of the plan have outlined.

To the extent that any given issue is addressed, the draft plan appears to be well thought out and consistent with its stated goals. I would submit, however, that certain fundamental issues have not been subjected to such vigorous consideration, and fail to appear in the draft document.

The core values of the plan are found on page 5 of volume I. The first value stated? "Economic Sense: The plan should capitalize on long term economic advantages for the whole community as well as for facilities themselves. Social and fiscal costs must be considered together." Indeed. Look through the draft plan and you will find extensive treatment of subjects such as facility siting, transportation, views, landscaping, and visitor access, but no where a discussion of the "Fiscal and Social costs." Let us begin that discussion here. If you were in attendance at the meeting in the GA building November 7, you heard a carpenter by the name of Cal Swan speak. General Administration can take testimony from now until the Apocalypse, but not hear any straighter from the heart than Cal offered that night. He talked about his job on the Temple of Justice project, and the pride of workmanship one has when engaged on such a magnificent monument to our government. He talked about the special commitment and dedication one has when working on projects unique to our community and he talked of having to leave the state last year to find work in his trade. But he didn't tell the whole story. You see, Cal has a plane ticket at home and will soon be leaving the state again, for at least three months, and possibly as long as six. Not because he wants to, but because he has to. When a worker has to leave family behind in order to support that family, this is a social cost. But what else does it mean? When Cal gets over there, he won't be opening bank accounts and buying a truck or furniture or appliances or a house or doing any of the other things we find necessary to keep our lives in order. He will spend what is necessary to get by week to week and the rest he'll send home, because his wife and son will still be in Elma. That's the way it works - our paychecks end up at home. And that's the way it works for the workers which Hensel-Phelps, based in Colorado, has brought in from out of state to work in the Natural Resources Building - their paychecks go home, to get circulated and recirculated through distant economies. Yet payroll is only one part of the picture. The monies spent on the design and engineering of this project are a time zone away, and the profit from this project is also destined to be funneled directly out of the state. On a $73 million project, it is safe to suggest that we are talking about millions of dollars. These are fiscal costs.

...you will find extensive treatment of subjects such as facility siting, transportation, views, landscaping, and visitor access, but no where a discussion of the "Fiscal and Social costs"

The fact that the NRB is being funded 100% by taxpayers dollars, as will every other component outlined in the draft Master Plan, makes for another important consideration. If the state's economy was rolling along, massive surplus after massive surplus being salted away to spend at our leisure, *perhaps* there wouldn't be the same impact as with construction projects in a tight budget period. The fact that state revenue forecasters predict a $700 million shortfall this year alone, and we begin to hear the rumblings of

(continued next page)

Two Public Meetings Scheduled For Master Plan

Two more public meetings on the state's draft master plan and associated environmental impact statement will be held.

The first meeting is a formal public hearing on the draft Environmental Impact Statement. This report outlines the possible effects the master plan might have on the environment, including air and water quality, traffic, plants and animals. Before construction begins on specific buildings further environmental studies will be done.

The meeting is scheduled for 7 pm December 3 in the first-floor Auditorium of the General Administration Building at 11th Avenue and Columbia Street.

The second meeting is designed to give the community another chance to comment on the draft master plan itself. The master plan calls for construction of new buildings on the Capitol Campus and in downtown Olympia. Satellite campuses and light industrial parks are planned for Lacey and Tumwater.

The meeting on the master plan will be at 7 pm December 6 in the GA Auditorium.

Copies of the plans are available for review at Olympia, Lacey and Tumwater city halls and libraries, at the Saint Martin's College Library, the State Library, in Room 218 of the GA Building and at the State Capital Museum.

To request copies of the plans or a short executive summary of the master plan, call Robert Arndt, Department of General Administration, at 753-0501.

Written comments on both plans are encouraged and can be mailed to Mr. Robert Arndt, Department of General Administration, 207 General Administration Building, Mail Stop AX-22, Olympia, WA 98504 ,by December 10, 1990.

(Workers, continued.)

how this shortfall will manifest itself, makes the potential impact to our local economy alarming. The Department of General Administration talks of laying off 30-40 building trades people, the people who keep the state's buildings liveable for those who work in them day after day. Beyond that, the Governor has asked all state agencies to prepare contingency budgets reflecting 12 1/2% reductions in general fund spending, one effect of which may be the elimination of up to 6000 jobs for state employees. As one official of General Administration has said, "The star on the map shines on Olympia" - I suspect I know where the impact of those cuts would be felt most strongly. These are both fiscal and social costs. They will be appearing at a time when millions of dollars are leaving the state, not to be circulated and recirculated through our own economy, not to be returned to the state's coffers to the tune of 7.8% on the dollar.

$135 million has already been appropriated for the Natural Resources and Labor and Industries buildings. I believe it is safe to suggest that the total cost for all components outlined in the draft plan will approach, if not exceed, $1 billion - every penny of which will come out of the taxpayers pocket. This is a major fiscal cost. It is also only a suggestion, for nowhere in the draft plan are the issues of social and fiscal costs considered, nor their impact on this community and this state. Because of the scope and magnitude of the projects outline in the draft plan, there is a compelling need for these issues to be addressed. If the draft plan can outline analyze and predict traffic flow and its impact, can it not outline, analyze and predict cash flow and its impacts? For doubtless, the impacts are real and affect every one of us. The drafters of the Master Plan have done an admirable job with the subjects which they have chosen to address. The draft plan does not, however, outline how it will "Capitalize on long term economic advantages for the whole community." It does not "Consider together the social and fiscal costs" as mandated by its own core values. The drafts of the Master plan have an obligation and responsibility to the Legislature, which appropriated the funds for its creation, and to the citizens and taxpayers of this state who pick up the tab, to address these issues in a diligent and comprehensive manner before any final plan is forwarded to the Legislature next year.

Don Arlow is a carpenter who lives in Olympia with his wife and family.

UNION CARPENTERS BUILD MORE THAN JUST BUILDINGS!

The Olympia Carpenters Local Union recently reaffirmed its objectives, some of which are:

* To reach out a helping hand to all carpenters in this area.
* To improve the intellectual, economic, and social conditions of all working men and women and their families.
* To improve safety conditions on the job.

LET'S BUILD A BETTER COMMUNITY TOGETHER!

Carpenters Local Union #1148
119 1/2 Capitol Way North, Olympia, WA 98501 Phone: 754-4038

A Snapshot of Future Urban America

Detroit, Michigan

This fall Detroit suffered several arson lit fires on and around Halloween. Though local news carried little of the story here in the Northwest, the national networks focused a great deal on Detroit and it's problems. Here is a Detroit columnist's reaction to the negative attention.

by Betty DeRamus

You'd have thought Detroit had burned to the ground if you've watched national television. You'd have thought we were all battling blazes or sweeping up ashes. Some New York youths reportedly killed a man for a thrill on Halloween. Go make a television special about that.

The national networks covered Devil's Night in Detroit as though the city were one big zoo full of furry little creatures who set fires and do other strange tricks. CNN interviewed a man from Illinois who said: "Any good weekend you can come here (to Detroit) and see a good fire."

Detroit is not a "separate country." It is the place where the American dream used to burn the brightest

On the Sonya Live talk show, the topic last Wednesday was "Are American Cities Self-Destructing?" The guests were Time magazine's Jack White and Ze'ev Chafets, whose book *Devil's Night and Other True Tales of Detroit* has sparked debates even hotter than the book.

Chafets said on national television that Detroit had become "almost like a separate country facing other hostile countries."

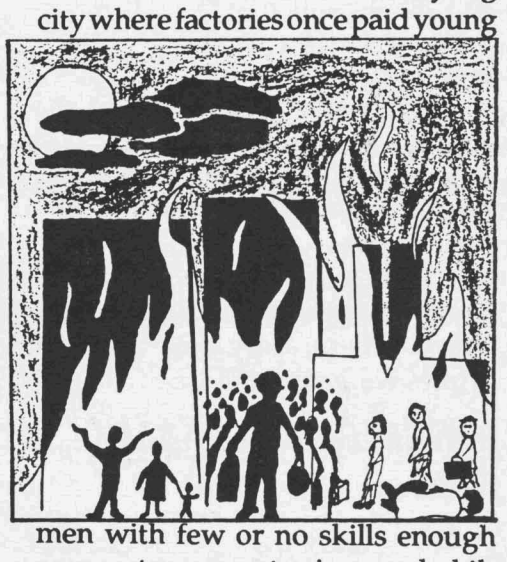
Give me a break.

Detroit is not a "separate country." It is the place where the American dream used to burn the brightest when the factories were smoking and the whole world loved our Pontiacs, Plymouths and Pintos. Detroit also is the place where that dream of endless American prosperity first began to fall apart.

All across America, you can find the people who were left behind when low-skilled but well-paying jobs began disappearing back in the '60s. While civil rights demonstrators were marching for open housing and integrated lunch counters and schools, the country was shifting gears.

It was phasing out the kind of jobs that had enabled many blacks to swim straight into the middle class mainstream with just one stroke.

You can see the proof of what I'm saying in the deserted steel mills on Chicago's south side. You can see it in the shutdown auto plants in Detroit. You can see it in every big city where factories once paid young



men with few or no skills enough money to support wives and children.

The lack of well-paying jobs for young, poorly educated black men is the major reason so many young black women are raising their children alone today. Lack of education, lack of spirit and lack of any hope for the future are even more pressing problems.

Hopeless young people living only for the moment are easy prey for whatever strolls by — from crack cocaine to the belief that guns and gold chains can turn a self-doubting boy into a man.

All the same, no city in the country can afford to sit back and point fingers at Detroit. This year, parts of Camden, N.J., flamed on Devil's Night, too. Detroit is not a freak show or a place where mom, dad and the kids can come to see "a good fire."

Unless this country regains its economic might and finds a way to save more American jobs, Detroit could very well be the handwriting on the wall for all of urban America.

This article is reprinted from the Detroit Free Press with permission from Betty DeRamus, one of their regular columnists.

Pinochet Still Controls Reins of Power

by Sean Sinclair of Santiago, Chile

On July 26, 150 people gathered in front of a candlelit house in a middle-class residential district of Santiago, Chile. In 1974, that house had been used by the DINA, the former Chilean secret police, as a house of torture. It is now owned by friends of "Los Sobreviventes" (the Survivors), Chileans tortured during the 17-year military dictatorship of General Agosto Pincochet Ugarte. In tribute to those persecuted and murdered (including over 1,000 who remain missing), former prisoners, some with their voices cracking, spoke of their painful experiences. They called upon Chileans to prevent the return of such a reign of terror and that those who participated in these acts of torture and political assassinations (including their superiors) be brought to justice and punished. Many fear, however, that this will never happen. "A huge amnesty is being planned in this country," declared Carena Perez, a survivor of the Villa Grimaldi, another torture center, and an exile for 8 years in Canada and France. "How can we have true reconciliation if there isn't justice?"

The abusive past is one of the obstacles Chileans will have to face as they move through a negotiated transition from dictatorship to formal electoral democracy. It is a situation similar to that faced by neighboring Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil. There, very few military crimes were ever punished.

A Minefield of Hidden Graves

The extent of the brutality in Chile is just now being uncovered. On July 8, clandestine burial sites were discovered that contained the bodies of 23 murdered supporters of the Popular Unity government of democratic socialist Salvador Allende Gossens (1970-1973) in the abandoned northern coastal town of Piagua. The discovery revealed what many knew and most had suspected: The campaign of terror which took place in the aftermath of the bloody September 11, 1973 military coup in which many massacres were concealed from public knowledge. The bodies, well preserved by the dry northern sand, showed evidence of brutal torture. Some bodies had been buried alive. Since the Pisagua findings, at least 10 other clandestine graves have been discovered in different parts of Chile.

The new government, a coalition of centrist and moderate left parties headed by Christian Democrat Patricio Aylwin which took office March 11 has created the Commission of Truth and Reconciliation with the task of investigating more than 5,000 legal claims regarding human rights violations. The commission, formed to "find out the truth," however, lacks legal authority to bring to justice those responsible for crimes committed during the Pinochet years. Indeed, President Aylwin, himself a supporter of the 1973 coup, has made clear statements regarding the government's intention not to punish military officers and secret police who were involved. Moreover, Pinochet, who remains the Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces, stated before last year's December 14 elections, "If anyone touches one of my men, the state of civil law is over." A clear example of the hypocrisy and corruption that exists in the judicial system was the dismissal, last January, of Appellate Court Judge Rene Garcia Villegas, who attempted to investigate the torture death of a leftist in 1986 by members of the CNI (National Investigations Center, successor to the DINA).

The Aylwin government has been cautious about the political prisoners that remain behind bars. The vast majority of them are members of one of the 3 guerilla organizations that fought against the military government and who were forced to sign confessions under torture. While pardoning those who weren't charged for violent crimes, they have not released those who were convicted or charged under the Terrorism Law, widely used by the Pinochet regime to imprison opponents. In an important case in July, the government denied permission to Vasily Carrillo, a jailed guerrilla leader of the Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front, to attend the funeral (under strict police supervision) of his father, Isidoro, a well-respected coal miner's union leader whose remains were discovered recently, 16 years after he was executed by soldiers following the military coup. The government justified the action based on security measures but many saw it as giving into the right-wing criticism that the new government must "get tough on terrorism". Jose Ugarte Gonzalez, a political prisoner since 1988 state,"Pinochet is the real terrorist. We risked our lives to get rid of him. The new government should recognize our contribution in building thedemocracy.

photo by Fernando Fiedler

Pinochet Keeps Watchful Eye

The present constitution was written in 1980 by Pinochet's thinktank and approved in a very undemocratic referendum—under a state of emergency, no opposition campaign, and no electoral register. It created many obstacles for the new government:

Legalizing the 1978 Amnesty Decree, which freed from responsibility all military personnel involved in acts of violence from 1973 to 1978 under the pretext of "safe-guarding national security",

Giving the National Security Council (dominated by the chiefs of the four military branches) sweeping powers to intervene on the basis of national security "threats",

Allowing the appointment-for-life of Pinochet's hand-picked Supreme Court, designed to prevent further investigations into Human rights abuses,

Setting up an unjust electoral law which allowed Pinochet to appoint one-fifth of the new Senate with himself as a Senator-for-Life, and

Placing the military budget, currently the highest in South America as percentage (7%) of Gross National Product, in the Constitution and allowing Pinochet to remain as Army Chief. (Thus, he is able to maintain allegiance in the barracks, in part, by increasing the military's share of the national budget—20% in 1989 and 12 times more than was spent on housing).

One key problem has been the fact that the vast majority of local governments still are controlled by Pinochet appointees (310 of 325 mayorships) and the political right is blocking the approval of a law that would allow direct democratic elections at the local level. Ceclia Nunez, a 23 year old president of a housing committee declared, "the new government won't listen to us unless we make our voices heard. The same problems still exist!"

The leftist parties which are not in the government (principally the Communist Party and the Revolutionary Left Movement (MIR) and some sectors of the Socialist Party) have made a demand that the new constitution be rewritten. Another key issue of the Left has been opposition to granting amnesty to military personnel and support for the immediate freedom for the 263 political prisoners that remain in prison. In foreign relations, they have mounted a campaign for the re-establishment of diplomatic relations with Cuba, a country which accepted many Chilean exiles. Cuba is understood as increasingly being isolated in the world community and, given the U.S. willingness to employ military power, a potential target.

Pinochet's popularity has definitely declined since the 1988 plebiscite in which 43% of Chileans favored him for another 8 year period. A right wing weekly, Que Pasa, published the results of a national survey in which seven out of every 10 Chileans supported the 73-year-old army chief's resignation. Even officials of the armed forces (including ex-member of the junta and principal anti-communist idealogue Admiral Jose Merino) have suggested that he retire. Pinochet,

(continued next page

Free Chilean Politi

An international campaign is requested by the family, attorneys and friends of Mr. Sergio Silva Espinoza, political prisoner in Santiago, Chile, since June 1982. Mr. Silva has suffered one heart-attack and two pre-heart attacks in the last 16 months (the last pre-attack was in July 1990) and has been diagnosed as needing by-pass surgery. He is under doctor's orders of complete bedrest. Yet his prison cell is on a second floor, which means that he must go up and down stairs for meals and to receive visits. He also is subject to evacuation of his cell during frequent routine searches and ransackings by prison guards. The doctors have ordered his next physical for June 1990 (paid by the International Red Cross) but permission has not yet been granted for this test to be carried out.

On Wednesday, August 8, the Military Martial Court rejected a liberty order for Mr. Silva issued by the military fiscal in charge of his case. In light of this setback, an international campaign has been requested to secure his release. The grounds for his liberty are humanitarian and juridical.

The juridical: Mr. Silva had three charges. For two counts, he was sentenced 4 and 10 years respectively. The third charge, which has remained open since his detention 1982, is contrary to Chilean law, but the maximum sentence for the third charge is 3 years, making his total sentence 17 years.

Under Chilean law, a prisoner who has completed half his sentence can be given day-freedom and weekend freedom, requiring him to return to prison only at night. Mr. Silva has been eligible for his consideration for six months, but has not been granted this permission.

whose memoirs have been published this fall, has declared that he "was chosen by Divine Will to rule Chile" and is unlikely to step down.

The decision last month by the Aylwin government to give a full-state honors funeral on September 4 (the traditional presidential election day) to the late President Allende, who died during the '73 coup, infuriated Pinochet. But the new government has been reticent to increase the pressure on the ex-dictator. Calls for a Nuremberg-style international tribunal, for a national referendum on Pinochet's permanency as Army Chief, and for the overturning of the Amnesty Law by human rights groups (including ex-judge Garcia) have gone unheeded.

Economic Model Remains

Whether Pinochet leaves the political scene during the 4-year transition period (the next presidential elections are scheduled for 1994) will not greatly alter the rules of the game. Like other Southern Cone countries, the transfer of formal power from military to civilian rule in Chile has not signified much of a shift away from neo-economic models. The military has completed its task by protecting the interests of foreign multinationals (the involvement of U.S. firms, such as ITT, in supporting and financing the '73 coup is well-documented) and their allies in the Chilean business elite against a populist government which sought to restructure the economy and redistribute income. It significantly decreased the role of the state by privatizing public companies (e.g., the national electric company ENDESA), limiting worker's wage demands (average monthly income is US $150-200) and opened the Chilean economy to new foreign investment (Asian, Australian, etc.) by offering low taxes on profit. The military would render a great service if they would "return to the barracks" and allow the professional politicians to run the show.

From a macro/economic perspective, Chile enjoys one of the healthier economies in Latin America with a dynamic export sector (mineral, esp. copper), fruit, fish, and wood products and even weapons (Cardoen, a Chilean arms company, sold to S. Africa and Iraq) and a positive balance of payment. Since the 1982-5 economic crisis, however, the economy has been controlled by foreigners interested in high profits over the short term. Chile, an exporter of raw materials, is more dependent than ever on fluctuations in the global economy. A case in point was the 1989 U.S. embargo on Chilean grape shipments due to the discovery of 2 poisoned grapes, causing over $300 million in losses to the Chilean economy and bringing particular hardship and unemployment to seasonal agricultural workers. Ironically, in mid-August U.S. investigators revealed that the poisoning occurred in the FDA laboratory in Philadelphia. Chile is now asking the U.S. for reparations payment for the damage to it's economy. Washington has not responded to the request, and has instead sent sub-Secretary of Commerce David Mulford to Santiago to explain the Bush Administration's plan to lower trade barriers among the U.S. and Latin American nations in exchange for a small reduction of the foreign debt. In Chile's case, the amount would be insignificant (approx. 5%), given the fact that 85% of Chile's debt is with private U.S. banks and other foreign lending institutions. The U.S. protectionist policies are estimated to cause over $600 million in losses annually.

Chile Faces the Future

The long military dictatorship has certainly left its marks. The social debt in Chile is great and its resolution will take time, regardless of how slowly or quickly the Aylwin government moves to address these concerns. It has taken some positive steps in the area of pollution, health care and education. Santiago, a city of 5 million and the smoggiest city in the world, will be subjected to more stringent emission controls and primary health care will be free for poor people. Higher education, which became increasingly privatized (and expensive) during the military regime, may receive more government aid. The government is reviewing the thousands of cases of Chileans who lost their jobs for political reasons during the Pinochet years including many teachers. But the new government has made it clear that it won't allow many spontaneous popular actions. Recent attempts at land seizures by homeless were met by quick police evacuations. The effects of free market economics and authoritarian politics will remain long after Pinochet leaves the scene. But as was revealed on September 4, when hundreds of thousands of Chileans poured into the streets to bid farewell to ex-President Allende (in an official state ceremony), the ghost of the last democratic president may be stronger than that of the last dictator. Chile's historic memory may lead it to freer days.

Sean Sinclair, a citizen of Chile , is a former resident of Olympia and a graduate of The Evergreen State College.

Pinochet to remain as Army Chief...Allowing the appointment-for-life of Pinochet's hand-picked Supreme Court... Pinochet to appoint one-fifth of the new Senate .

olitical Prisoner

There are several laws under consideration in the Chilean Parliament to reduce sentences and to pardon some of Chile's 500 plus political prisoners. If any of these laws were to pass the Congress, Mr. Silva would be eligible for freedom. The laws have been under debate since April 1990. In the meantime, over 230 political prisoners have been freed or pardoned by President Aylwin and the Military Martial Court. Prisoners with more serious charges than Mr. Silva's have been freed. There seems to be no logic as to whom is freed or pardoned.

The humanitarian consideration for freedom is the most important one. Mr. Silva needs heart surgery, and his condition points to continued deterioration and danger to his life. Mr. Silva needs not only to receive his freedom but he also needs his life saved.

Mr. Silva has been granted an exile visa to Belgium, where he could receive proper medical attention. He could go to Belgium with his wife, Blanca Ibarra, and their three children, the youngest of whom was only days old when Mr. Silva was arrested.

The family, friends and attorney ofMr. Silva ask that your messages requesting his immediate freedom be sent to:

1) Mr. Francisco Cumplido, Minister of Justice, Morande 107, Santiago, Chile. Fax: (56-2) 696-6952

2) Mr. Luis Maldonado, President Supreme Court, Bandera 344, Santiago, Chile. Fax: (56-2) 695-4130

3) Judges, Martial Court, Bandera 344, Santiage, Chile. Fax (56-2) 695-4130

Nicaraguan Visitors, "Tomasinos", Concerned Over Renewed Fighting

by Dave Groves

"I'll put myself in God's hands" Virgilio Bravo said Tuesday when asked about renewed fighting near his home in Santo Tomas on the eve of the return trip. The highly successful visit to Thurston County and Western Washington by Juana Ruiz Taleno, a high school student, Padre Ignacio Gonzalez a Colombian priest working for ten years in Nicaragua, and Virgilio Bravo Plata, former Sandinista Party candidate for City Council and history teacher, sponsored by the Thurston-Santo Tomas Sister County Association included hearing reactions to news that the main highway running from West to Eastern Nicaragua through Santo Tomas may be controlled by the Contras. All three "Tomasinos" expressed apprehension about a possible coup attempt by Vice-President Godoy and his followers to oust the recently elected President Violeta Chamorro. Virgilio explained that Godoy openly criticizes President Chamorro because she has allied herself with members of the Contras plus two Deputies of the National Assembly. The government realizes that the Contras are trying to provoke a conflict and they won't fall into the trap. The Army is loyal to Chamorro and the government has the final word."

All three "Tomasinos" expressed apprehension about a possible coup attempt by Vice-President Godoy and his followers to oust the recently elected President Violeta Chamorro.

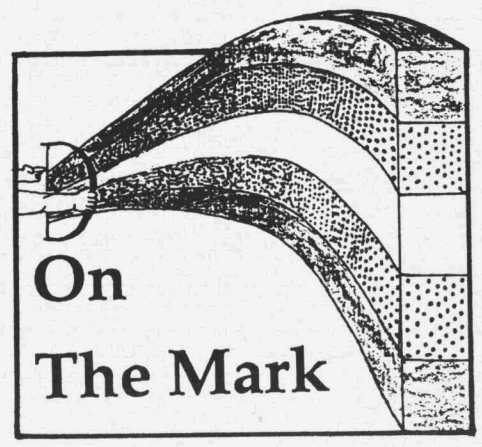
Sandinista Party.

"There is a project with the theme of 'Let's Save Democracy' which has the support of the mayors of 18 municipalities and chiefs of the

As well as this fear of renewed fighting, Juana Ruiz Taleno expressed concern about renewed signs of diseases like measles and contamination of the drinking water. At the many events where they spoke people heard that the Nicaraguan people are already suffering from the oil price rise of about 30% since the conflict in Iraq began and renewed efforts to privatize education and health care leaving the poor with less hope than during the war. Padre Ignacio repeatedly stated that the devaluation of the Nicaraguan currency, the Cordoba, has changed from 50,000 to $1.00 U.S. to 1,600,000 to $1.00 U.S. This has crated great in-

(Continued on page 16)

SOCIALISM FROM BELOW?



by Dave Jette

The purpose of this column is to promote independent progressive political activity and organization, in order to work toward a truly liberated society. But in doing so, we have got to ask ourselves, what exactly are our goals, and how can we carry out our political work in a way which is consistent with achieving these goals? Many of us look favorably upon "socialism" in some broad sense, as the necessary alternative to the monstrous evils of our (capitalist) society. But it should now be clear, even to the most anti-capitalists among us, that the experience of the Soviet Union in "building socialism" (as they have called it) has been a travesty. Can Marxism in fact lead to human liberation, and, if not, is there some other sort of "socialism" which we should be striving for? In this article we look at these questions from certain anti-Marxist and Marxist standpoints.

The struggle for human liberation must of necessity involve social activists who identify themselves as (Marxian) socialists as well as those who do not

We begin by considering ideas given in *Liberating Theory*, by Michael Albert, Leslie Cagan, Noam Chomsky, Robin Hahnel, Mel King, Lydia Sargent, and Holly Sklar. The authors are fairly well-known U.S. social activists, and Albert and Sargent in particular are the editors of the magazine Z. This important 200-page book, published in 1986, is available from South End Press, 116 Saint Botolph St., Boston, MA 02115 for $11.50 including postage. (Be sure to ask for their catalog, which contains a veritable wealth of inexpensive books of critical relevance to social activists.)

Liberating Theory is in fact an anti-Marxist work, and its basic political criticism of Marxism (in all its forms) is that it is "a theory geared toward the interests of coordinators" (page 169). In order to do this, the book identifies a coordinator class:

> In our view, modern economies, of both capitalist and post-capitalist varieties, have spawned a new class of managers, technocrats, and professionals who compete for control over economic activity and its benefits. Since we feel this class comes from, but is much smaller than the growing stratum of "mental workers" in modern economies we call it the coordinator class to distinguish it from the larger stratum that would include elementary school teachers as well as tenured professors, engineers of all kinds, and nurses as well as hospital administrators and doctors. In economies where the capitalist class still dominates, the coordinator class has antagonistic interests with capitalists who are their most frequent employers. Coordinators seek ever more autonomy from capitalist supervision as well as growing shares of the surplus. But in such societies the coordinator class also has antagonistic interests with the working class whose activities it largely directs and "coordinates". Coordinators seek to reproduce the dependence of workers on experts and the coordinators' own relative monopoly on expertise. (page 50).

Liberating Theory continues by pointing out that this "coordinator class" actually is the political ruling class in societies like the Soviet Union's, which would seem to be reasonable to argue. (As recent events have made only too clear, it sure ain't the working class which has been ruling there!) But for us in the United States, what is especially interesting about the book's coordinator class thesis is its identification of that class with another important tendency of Marxism, social democracy. (A major split occurred in the international socialist movement prior to World War I, with the social democrats advocating that the workers of the various countries kill each other for the benefit of the capitalists of their own country, while the Bolshevik Party in the Soviet Union - as well as the Wobblies in the U.S. - called upon the working class not to participate in the imminent war. In Europe, social-democratic parties have held state power in a number of countries, such as the Labor Party in Great Britain.) Speaking of social democrats who advocate what is termed neo-populism, the book says:

> In order to remain invisible while coopting traditional workers and other social agents to programs elevating coordinators, coordinator intellectuals must elaborate conceptual frameworks which literally deny the importance of class differentiations of any kind by highlighting the idea of a populist community of anti-capitalist actors. Since the aim is to have a coordinator economy with workers confined to manual roles, on the one hand, or unemployed on the other, there will be considerable attention given to enlarging welfare rights to avoid great poverty and attract allies. But worker power over the economy won't be on the agenda. And, at the same time, parallel attitudes regarding racism, democracy, and sexism will also be watered down versions of genuinely liberatory views. For example, we can anticipate that progressives identified with the coordinator class will extol the importance of democracy, but ignore or down play the development of genuinely participatory alternatives to unaccountable electoral models that elites can control and benefit from; decry sexism, but see the need for childcare or "maternity" leave primarily as relating to women; decry racism, but construct their economic alternatives in settings dominated by white men. Of course advocates of this approach will claim they are seeking change to enhance the interests of all of society's poorest and most oppressed peoples - as reformers generally do - and, indeed, if enacted, many of their programs will have some of this sort of impact. But first and foremost, this orientation will foster economic advance for coordinators. (page 102)

Thus *Liberating Theory* ties together these two major strains of Marxism - "classical Marxism" as developed especially in the Soviet Union, and social democracy - as serving the interests of a particular exploiting economic class. This integral connection is further elucidated by Manning Marable, Professor of Political Science and Sociology at the University of Colorado in Boulder and the author of a number of books on Black politics in the U.S., in an article entitled "Toward an American Socialism-From-Below" in the March 1990 issue of Forward Motion. (Available for $3.00 from Forward Motion, Box 1884, Jamaica Plain, MA 02130. A six-issue subscription to this quarterly socialist magazine costs $15.00, and is highly recommended.) Marable writes:

> Despite the obvious political differences, there are also fundamental parallels between Social Democracy and Communism as two versions of socialism-from-above. Both have promoted extensive social engineering and class hierarchies. The social democrats elevate into office technocrats and apolitical professionals who have little direct contact or sympathy with the

The American Left has permitted the Right in this country to expropriate and distort many of the symbols of democratic struggle, particularly the theme of human freedom.

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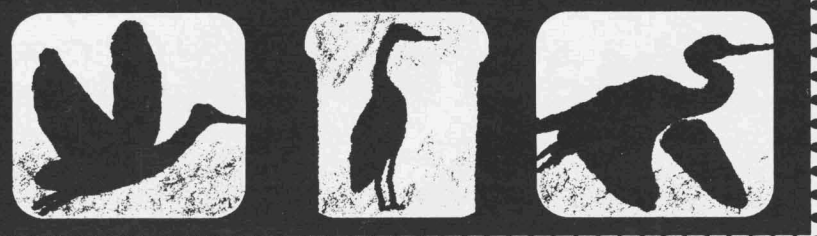

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Washington State Investment Board--

The New Robber-Barons

by Teresa Jennings

Slum Landlord! You! Me! Never! Afterall, you and I don't have real estate holdings in this state, or other states, or other countries where a manager or managing company has been hired to oversee the operation for the sole purpose of profit with no regard for the tenants, the environment, or the workers. But wait a minute.

Substitute the words "property" or better yet "investment" for the words, "real estate holdings". If you work or have worked where part of your earnings were allocated towards a pension and investments were made on behalf of that pension, then the title, "Slum Landlord" may apply to you. Clearly, where pensions are made with no regard for the social or environmental costs, we as holders of these pensions must face our culpability. If you are or have been a Washington State public employee, teacher, law enforcement officer, or firefighter, the title becomes pointedly apt for your pension plan is administered through the Washington State Investment Board (WSIB).

The holdings of the WSIB, as reviewed by Helene Roberston, a Seattle financial consultant, in 1989 showed 49 firms doing business in South Africa, 27 with defense contracts, 5 with nuclear bomb contracts, 13 with Star Wars funding, 2 tobacco firms, and 1 alcoholic beverage manufacturer. The following table lists some of the companies with the amounts invested in 1989.

The Investment Board has fourteen members, nine of whom have voting rights. All except the State Treasurer (Dan Grimm) are appointed by the Governor. Currently, the voting members on the Board are Dan Grimm, George Northcroft (Director, Dept. of Retirement Systems), Joseph Dear (Director, Dept. of Labor and Industries), Jimmy Cason(representative for Law Enforcement Officers and Firefighters), Gary Moore (representative for public employees), Reese Lindquist (representative for teachers), James Ryan (representative for retired members), Dan McDonald (State Senator), and Joseph King (State Representative).

The Board states that their investment objective is to "manage [all funds] prudently with the purpose to maximize return at a prudent level of risk...[and] all funds shall be sufficiently diversified." This is commonly known as the "Prudent Man Rule". In conversations with Thurston County Rainbow members, Sylvia Smith, Evelyn Montague, Meta Heller, and others, Board members have repeatedly taken the tack that the Prudent Man Rule prevents them from looking at investment opportunities in terms of social responsibility; that it requires them to only look at the level of risk and the rate of return. More enlightened institutional, e.g., the University of Washington, the City of Seattle, the City of New York, the University of Michigan, investors have considered the social responsibility of corporations to be integral to the definition of prudent investment. Moreover, there is considerable evidence that socially-screened portfolios perform as well or better than traditional portfolios. According to the Wall Street Journal (July 29, 1988), "socially screened funds are outperforming many competitors and luring some conventional, purely profit-oriented investors."

"socially screened funds are outperforming many competitors and luring some conventional, purely profit-oriented investors."

Given the Board's repeated assertions of the Prudent Man Rule and their continual failure to even broach the subject of socially responsible investing at their quarterly meetings, it seems that the only choice open to pensionholders desiring change, is to call for a change in the membership of the Board. If pensionholders are to be truly represented on the Board, then they should elect the Board members who supposedly speak for them. In a recent public meeting on Socially Conscious Investing sponsored by Channel 9, this writer approached State Treasurer Dan Grimm with the view that it was the Board's responsibility to establish a mechanism whereby pensionholders could express their opinions on WSIB investments. Grimm replied that some such methods were under advisement. As of the last quarterly meeting of the WSIB the topic had not yet received any attention.

AFSCME Local 443 member, Dave Groves reports that at this same quarterly meeting Board members, Gary Moore, Joe Dear, and Dan Grimm, were asked about WSIB investments in South Africa. They responded by telling Dave that it should be pursued in the Le gislature. Considering that the Washington Federation of State Employees (WFSE) passed a resolution at their biennial convention calling upon the Board to disinvest in South Africa, we look forward to seeing Gary Moore, who heads WFSE, and Mark Brown, WFSE lobbyist, lead this effort. Clearly, however, it must be recognized an escape move and a denial of the Board's responsibility and authority to act. One can only conclude that the terms "prudence" and "representative" are being defined in the same old, malignant ways by Washington State Investment Board. The Washington State Investment Board is among the new "Robber Barons." Pensionholders, please act.

Teresa Jennings is a member of the Works In Progress Editorial Board, as well as the secretary for the Thurston County Rainbow Coalition, and a member of AFSCME, Local 443.

Examples of Investment Holdings of the WSIB

Company	Amount Invested	Business Practice
American Brands	$ 7,752,000	Tobacco
Anheuser-Busch	6,415,806	Alcohol
AT&T	7,000,000	Nuclear bomb Mfg.
Boeing	8,400,000	South Africa
Caterpiller	14,790,000	South Africa
CIGNA	19,556,250	South Africa
IBM	17,262,312	South Africa, Star Wars
Philip Morris	23,150,375	Tobacco
Royal Dutch Petroleum	12,926,000	South Africa
Xerox	20,271,875	South Africa

(Socialism, continued.)

masses of workers. Both have historically repudiated socialist principles in favor of power. For the social democrats to win elections within political cultures and social systems deeply rooted in individualism, materialism and the primacy of private interests above the common welfare, they have generally jettisoned their theoretical beliefs to curry favor within the middle class.

Marable speaks from a Marxist standpoint, but in opposition to "socialism-from-above" (actually a contradiction in terms, for socialism cannot exist without full democracy) he advocates "socialism-from-below":

> The approach of socialism-from-below in the United States would emphasize the necessity to develop networks of locally-based progressive formations, organizations engaged in anti-racism, feminist, trade union, peace, environmental, gay/lesbian rights, and/or other progressive sectors. Here the Left can play the decisive role as a social catalyst, charting a new social contract, which would help the American people to redefine their relationship between themselves and the capitalist state.

The struggle for human liberation must of necessity involve social activists who identify themselves as (Marxian) socialists as well as those who do not, and Marable calls on the former to broaden their (previously narrow) vision:

> American socialists must learn from the insights of non-socialist activists in various social reform, environmentalist and religious organizations in our efforts to reach broader constituencies. We must cultivate a new, radical identity, clearly distinct from the failed examples of Stalinism and social democracy, which associates socialism with the values of social justice, pluralism, racial and gender equality, and freedom. The American Left has permitted the Right in this country to expropriate and distort many of the symbols of democratic struggle, particularly the theme of human freedom.

However, given the lessons from the rich heritage of the Afro-American liberation struggle, we should have no ambiguity about the positive and liberating value of the concept of human freedom. Freedom does not have to be defined as free markets, or the freedom of the corporations to raise prices and lay off workers. Freedom can be projected as the freedom from hunger, poverty, illiteracy, unemployment and police brutality. Freedom can be the right to advocate a new, democratic social and political reconstruction of the existing social order. Without dogma or illusions, socialism can become the democratic vision of the future.

In this article we have started with *Liberating Theory*'s identification of the coordinator class as that served by Marxist theory in both its Stalinist and social-democratic forms. But we have also rejected these forms as being "socialism-from-above", in place of which we must advocate (following Manning Marable) a truly democratic "socialism-from-below". Next month we shall continue to look at these fundamental questions about what we are striving for, what the longterm prospects of our efforts may be, who are our allies in this struggle for human liberation.

Hopefully we shall be keeping these questions in mind and seek fuller understanding of them, as we pursue our various struggles for a decent society.

Dave Jette. a regular columnist for Works In Progress, has long been active with the NCIPA (National Coalition for Independent Political Action).

DRUMS OF WAR... ACTS OF RESISTANCE

by Ron Jacobs

As I write this piece, I hear on the radio that sometime during the weekend of November 17th, the United States will conduct a marine amphibious landing exercise within ten miles of where Iraqi troops are stationed near the Saudi Arabian border. In the same newscast I am told that Senator Lugar from Indiana wants Bush to call a special session of Congress to discuss and declare war. What these two items bring to mind is the reality that, one way or the other, the U.S. government wants to go to war. If Bush has his way, one or the other of the so-called training exercises will precipitate an Iraqi response -- either accidentally through the action of an individual soldier or a defensive action called for from higher up. The Lugar option, on the other hand, would waive the necessity of some contrived pretext -- a la the Gulf of Tonkin incident preceding the U.S. military escalation in Vietnam -- and blatantly declare war against the regime of Saddam Hussein, paving the way for an all-out offensive.

Speaking of Vietnam, a discussion with Randy Rowland of Vietnam Veterans Against the War/ Anti-Imperialist on KAOS radio the ninth of November brought up the issues of lessons of that war. It seems the primary lesson military strategists learned was not to let any U.S. war drag on too long. According to their analysis, it was the length of the war in Vietnam and not its barbarity which caused the eventual lack of support from the American people. Instead, the thinking goes, the military should hit "the enemy" with as much firepower as possible from the very beginning. The recent deployment of over 100,000 more troops to the Mideast will make such a strike possible and, supposedly, shorten any war there via mass destruction and murder. This is the reason why those who oppose war must build opposition now before shooting begins.

Locally, the movement against U.S. intervention held a rock concert against war November 12 in Sylvester Park. The crowd was composed mostly of high school aged youth attracted by both the music and the message against war. Speakers from the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR) and the Olympia Anti-Intervention Coalition spoke in between bands about the military, the draft, and the war. FOR member Glen Anderson's explanation of the draft laws and call for a non-military solution to the "Gulf crisis" were met with warm applause and questions from individuals in the crowd after he stepped down from the stage. The speaker from the Anti-Intervention Coalition drew a strong positive reaction when he ended his talk with the phrase, "If Uncle Sam tells you to go, JUST SAY NO!"

"A primary reason the U.S. must confront Iraq is to save American jobs." -- New York Times 11/14/90 paraphrase of remarks by James Baker.

We need to not only say no to the possibility of a shooting war, but must also recognize that the present situation in the Persian Gulf region (which could have changed by the time this is published) is itself not only dangerous but is forcing millions the world over to choose between food and fuel. Although the Bush administration is attempting to blame Saddam Hussein for the worldwide economic downturn, it is the continuing decline of U.S. capitalism which bears the ultimate responsibility.

"If Uncle Sam tells you to go, JUST SAY NO!"

Workers in the United States don't need troops in Saudi Arabia fighting Iraqi soldiers to save their jobs. They need to fight the system in this country which in the last fifteen years has stepped up a clearly anti-worker policy in its gluttonous chase after profits. The George Bushs, Ronald Reagans, Keatings, Lorenzos, and Currys are U.S. workers' enemies, not Saddam Hussein. While big oil and its monarchist cohorts reap millions, many in the world are losing their ability to feed themselves and their families due to the economic hardships intensified by this crisis. To bring attention to this, local anti-intervention and homeless support groups are planning to conduct a food drive and provide free food at upcoming anti-intervention events.

Some of those events, both ongoing and in the planning stages are:

----The Olympia Anti-Intervention Coalition is hosting a Friday speak out against intervention every Friday from 11 AM until 2 PM in Sylvester Park in downtown Olympia. Please bring signs, friends, acoustic music instruments, and a can of food if you can.

----The Fellowship of Reconciliation holds a weekly silent vigil from 12 noon until 1 PM every Wednesday in Sylvester Park.

----There will be a demonstration against U.S. military intervention in the Middle East December 1st at the Federal Building in Seattle. The demonstration begins at 12 noon. Carpools will leave from Bayview Marketplace and Peterson's Shoprite in Olympia at 10 AM. If you can drive, please call the Olympia Anti-Intervention Coalition at 866-9231 and leave your name and number.

----On December 8th, a Day of Protest and Education will be held in Olympia. The demonstration will begin at 12 noon in Sylvester Park. Details are still being worked out. For more information, please call the Olympia Anti-Intervention Coalition at 866-9231.

----If a shooting war begins demonstrations will occur that same day. These demonstrations will be nationwide and are called by a variety of groups. In Olympia, the first demonstration will be on Red Square at The Evergreen State College at 12 noon. A later demonstration will be held at the Federal Building at 8th and Capitol Way in Olympia at 6 PM. Please bring friends, signs, noisemakers and candles for a candlelight procession through downtown. In the days following, the Coalition urges those who oppose the war to wear black armbands to express their opposition.

---Olympia Anti-Intervention Coalition meetings are held Wednesdays at 7 PM. For location and other info please call 866-9231. We are organizing teams to speak to schools, churches, and unions and could use as much help as you can give, be it time and/or money.

The Olympia Anti-Intervention Coalition can be reached by mail at: Olympia Anti-Intervention Coalition, P.O. Box 1725, Olympia, WA. 98507.

Ron Jacobs is a member of C.A.A.C. and the Olympia Anti-Intervention Coalition.

Editor's note: The Olympia Fellowship of Reconciliation is celebrating their 15th year anniversary by holding a special silent vigil on Percival Landing from noon to one on Saturday, December 22nd.

Unions do more than negotiate wages.

Raise Your Voice
Support Our Community

Local 443 has joined the Carpenters Local1148 in condemning use of non-union, out-of-state contractors for the construction of the Natural Resources Building. Please join us at the next two public meetings on these issues and future building construction on December 3rd and 6th at the GA Building.

Make your impact on the world.

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AFSCME - Local 443 - AFL-CIO P.O. Box 105, Olympia, WA 98507
Phone 943-7178 Helen Lee, President

Thurston County Rainbow Coalition

General Membership Meeting

12:30 - 2:30 pm

Saturday, December 15, 1990

Agenda items:

Political Activist Awards

Report from WSRC

First Christian Church
7th and Franklin
Olympia

Olympian Youth Make Noise About War

by Pat Tassoni

On November 12, celebrated Veteran's Day, a unique kind of protest took place in downtown Olympia's Sylvester Park. It was called All Out For Peace, When Bush Comes To Shove. The banner read: Let's all come all out; let's go all out; and get them all out. The rally was for peace; to support the people, the soldiers and at the same time to protest the politics that sent them to Saudi Arabia and is not letting them come home. It was unique, in that it was a musical protest geared to attract the youth and allowed them a forum for expressing their concerns over the possibility of the United States going to war with Iraq. Since it is the young adults who would be killing and would be killed in such an eventuality, the rally was left an "open mike", where people freely could come up onto stage to offer their opinions.

Aside from the scheduled events, participants contributed speeches, songs, music, and poems. There was no shortage of volunteers. One lady in sharing her experience and wisdom, beseeched the crowd to become active and to stay involved in the prevention of the war in order to avoid another Vietnam, which was happening when she was the crowd's age.

Part of the show was also designed to expose the public to local bands. Among the known area-bands (Cheshire, Treehouse, Fitz of Depression, and Death Squad), there were also a few relative newcomers: The House, Butterfang, Brave New World, Fuzzy Wuzzy, and the Four Squares. The bands played about a half-hour set, during which time they also expressed their own personal worries. Damien of Fuzzy Wuzzy related apprehension about being drafted and inducted into the military and told to fight for something that did not seem important. Death Squad asked the crowd to not only enjoy the music but to also really think about what was being said and about what was going on in the world.

. . . it was a musical protest geared to attract the youth and allowed them a forum for expressing their concerns over the possibility of the United States going to war with Iraq.

The music ranged from rock to punk to thrash. It was a fairly diverse attraction, running about four and a half hours. Added to the diversity were a couple of folk singers, J.C. Adams and Bob Matheson. Their styles and choice of songs gave the rally that authentic grassroots feel. Also appearing was Julia, who sang a few a capella songs of social significance.

Glen Anderson of the Olympia Fellowship of Reconciliation and a draft counselor spoke to the audience about the draft. He explained some background and its process as well as some options open to draftees. Most of the audience was of drafting age. Also speaking were members of the Olympia Anti-Intervention Coalition. Ron Jacobs told about the Middle East Situation, while Fletcher described what to do in the event of war. He asked that people should not go to work or to school on the day war breaks out, and to gather in front of the Federal Building in protest. Rob Tate, a rally organizer, talked about not wishing to see in a year's time, a need to honor or celebrate the deaths and lives of our friends and relatives. No more veterans on Veteran's Day is his hope, and all of ours.

The quote that best represents the collective opinion of the gathered youth, both in form and meaning, was, "Fighting for peace is like fucking for virginity!" It doesn't make sense; so don't try to do it. And as was said in the conclusion of the show, "We are just starting, if Bush is just starting; if he continues with what he's doing, so shall we."

The audience numbered close to two hundred at its peak, but because of the shows length, people came and went. Altogether, we estimate around three hundred people attended for some time. Some people, both old and young, were present from beginning to end, from the late noon-beginning till the dark, raining end. Thank you all for coming out.

We are trying to get together an audio tape recording of the event to be sold in the future. Proceeds will go to peace organizations. Also a video was shot and we hope to get it editted and aired on TCTV, so stay tuned.

Pat is currently a Board Member of Works In Progress.

U.S. Troops Are Not Protecting Democracy in Saudi Arabia

by Glen Anderson

The Ottoman Empire ruled most Arab lands from the mid-1500s until the late 1800s, when the British Empire began setting itself up as the controlling power. Through various machinations from the 1890s to the 1920s, Britain came to control the region directly or through puppets. More recently, the U.S. government and the oil industry have wielded tremendous power over the region.

The U.S. stood by when Saddam invaded Iran, and later the U.S. actuallly helped him in that war.

A large oil field under Iraq extends slightly under Kuwait. Kuwait had been using slant-drilling to steal Iraq's oil, despite Iraq's repeated demands to stop. Iraq invaded Kuwait partly to protect its own natural resources.

U.S. troops are not protecting democracy in Saudi Arabia. Both Kuwait and Saudi Arabia are monarchies. (In fact, the whole nation of Saudi Arabia is named after the Ibn Saud family.) In both countries a few extremely rich people rule for their own benefit and sharply restrict civil liberties for the vast majority of the people. The governments of both countries have cooperated well with U.S. government, military, and business interests, so the U.S. government has spent billions of dollars protecting the unjust status quo. (The euphemism for this is "stability.")

Saddam Hussein certainly has done a lot of bad things. But the U.S. has actually supported many dictators who are far worse than him--including the murderous thugs in El Salvador's military. The U.S. stood by when Saddam invaded Iran, and later the U.S. actuallly helped him in that war. Military actions like his invasion of Kuwait happen all the time. Why has Bush suddenly singled out this one person, repeatedly called him a Hitler, and deployed half as many troops as at the peak of the Vietnam War?

The Soviet Union's demise as a superpower leaves only one military superpower left: the United States. Excessive military spending and stupid economic policies have ruined the U.S. economy. We are no longer the world's leading economic power, and natonal leaders recognize this. But we still have the military firepower! So to maintain U.S. control over a rapidly changing world, all we can do is threaten to wreak massive violence on people who don't yield.

In short, the U.S. government is trying to impose a Pax Americana on the rest of the world--to continue to control militarily what we no longer can control financially. And Bush and the hawks wantto maintain the Pentagon's overwhelming power over the federalbudget and our national self-image.

Glen is the chairperson of the Olympia FOR and the Olympia Draft Counseling Center.

This article was taken from a supplement by Glen Anderson for the November 1990 newsletter of the Olympia Fellowship of Reconciliation. Used by permission.

Worried About the Draft? Want Out of the Military?

More and more men and women who are in the military are finding that they do not want to be there. More and more young men are worried about getting drafted. George Bush's threats of war against Iraq is bringing the issue to a head for many individuals.

We Can Help!

Thurston County Draft Counseling Center

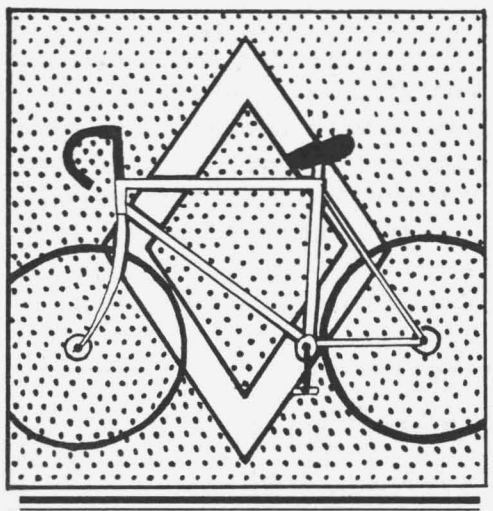
491-9093

The laws and regulations already exist for an amazingly fast return to the draft. If Congress were to give Bush induction authority today, draft notices would go out in tomorrow's mail and within two weeks thousands of surprised young men could find themselves in boot camp before they knew what hit them! Before they had a chance to find out what their rights are!

The Thurston County Draft Counseling Center can help. TCDCC can provide information about the draft, counsel individuals who want to stay out or get out of the military, and make presentations to audiences at schools, churches and other groups.

Transportation Planners:

No Place For Bikers And Walkers



by Todd Litman

On October 3 and 6, the Thurston Regional Planning Council sponsored a public transportation Forum and Workshop to kick off a new Regional Transportation Planning process. This plan will affect our community in many ways, touching all of our lives. It's important that residents stay informed about the decisions being made in this process.

Thurston County, like most communities, faces growing transportation problems, including traffic and parking congestion, pollution, increasing energy costs, and a lack of mobility for people who cannot drive or are poor. These problems are largely the result of current transportation policies which emphasize automobile transportation over all other options. Despite the problems associated with motor vehicle use, per capita mileage continues to increase in our community.

There are no easy answers to these problems, no new invention that will allow Thurston County residents to continue to rely on automobile for most trips, eliminate the environmental impacts of driving and allow everybody a high level of mobility. Developing an effective and fair transportation system will require careful planning. For example, it will be necessary to decide what kind of incentives are used to encourage efficient transportation, how community resources (including parking spaces, road funds and public services) will be allocated, and what provisions are made for transportation disadvantaged people.

Participants at the Forum and Workshop emphasized the importance of developing a transportation system that is efficient, enviromentally responsible and socially equitable. "Transportation Management" (efforts to encourage more efficient travel habits) and "Walkways/Bikeways" ranked first and second funding priorities; a reversal of current policies which give road construction the vast majority of transportation money.

Participants also emphasized the need to coordinate transportation and land use planning, to develop communities which provide access with significantly less driving. Specific suggestions included: "Urban design should be human scale, encourage mixed uses (residential and employment centers located together), be aesthetic...and include parks"; "Plan for multi mode connections (bike-rail-bus), create linkage throughout the community" and "Create incentives and disincentives that encourage less use of private cars". This is progressive thinking, the kind of vision that is needed to address our growing transportation problems.

Our regional planning staff were generally supportive of efficient transportation strategies. In contrast to the citizen participants' emphasis on bicycling and walking, the professionals were not much concerned about the needs of people who cannot drive, and demonstrated the conventional transportation planners' ignorance of non-motorized transportation. Carl Wilson, the senior transportation planner explained that our Regional Planning agency can ignore non-drivers because "Intercity Transit plans for the needs of transit dependant people", stating that traffic congestion is the problem being addressed by this planning process.

Using these priorities, resources will be invested primarily in strategies which reduce rush hour traffic congestion, while comprehensive transportation planning could be ignored. For example, high cost park-and-ride lots would recieve funding rather than community bicycle safety education because bicycle safety is considered a "children's" problem, not a "rush hour" problem. Yet, until we have a system that provides comprehensive non-automotive mobility, it will be difficult to discourage car ownership and use.

People who cannot drive will probably agree that even a well run transit system has its limitations. Our community needs a transportation system which provides a high level of mobility without requiring every individual to own a car. This requires better neighborhood planning, improved connections between bicycling and transit, better transportation information resources, and incentives to encourage people to choose more efficient travel options.

Our community needs a transportation system which provides a high level of mobility without requiring every individual to own a car.

Considering the potential benefits of increased bicycle and pedestrian transportation it is disappointing that our transportation planners ignored these options. Forum participants received five fact sheets addressing motor vehicle planning, but nothing on bicycling. The only information offered about non-motorized transport was a poster indicating that separated pathways cost $160,000 per mile. There was no mention of low cost strategies to accomodate and encourage bicycle transportation such as covered bicycle parking, road shoulder maintenance or bicycle route information.

Some people may not believe that bicycling and walking could replace automobile transportation because they are accustomed to long distance trips. But if neighborhoods are well designed, with safe streets, local stores, and accessible transit service, many errands and commutes that now require a car could be made by shorter, more efficient trips. Older neighborhoods were developed around local travel. It's time once again to take walking, bicycling and transit use into account when planning our communities.

This Forum was the first step in a year long, comprehensive Regional Transportation Planning process. It is important that citizens in our community stay informed and involved as this process continues, in order to support efficient transportation options. To get on the mailing list contact Thurston Regional Planner Kathy McCormick at 786-5480.

Failure of the Capital Campus technocrats clears way for a populist revival

Why the charter bombed

By Steve Salmi

The defeat of the charter will go down in history as the local progressive movement's Hiroshima.

Egos cannot be assuaged with such words as, "But we only lost by 5 percent." The charter didn't just lose — it was nuked back to Cooper Point. Right-wing yahoos with spray-painted yard signs have received as many votes.

The stunning homogeneity of the freeholder board made it almost impossible for the charter movement to broaden its base beyond the wine-and-cheese set.

What makes such a loss particularly painful is that the charter effort represented the progressive community's best shot. The movement was led by a veritable Spanish Armada of this county's "best and brightest" liberal political leaders, including numerous Capital Campus veterans who were involved in two previous charter efforts. As they went about their work, they were coddled by most of the region's news media, especially The Olympian. And in the unpredictable world of politics, the charter's timing could not have been a whole lot better, riding the crest of a wave of public support for stronger growth management.

How, then, could this juggernaut have failed so miserably? That question should loom large among progressive thinkers as we enter not only a new year, but a new era in Thurston County politics. How we analyze the momentous events of 1989-90 will help determine the direction of local progressive organizing for years to come.

Nurturing an intelligent discussion about the charter's failure is difficult for a number of reasons. is that meaningful data aren't in great abundance. Unfortunately, the freeholders didn't have the foresight to put aside money for a post-election opinion poll, a detailed precinct analysis and the creation of a micro think tank at The Evergreen State College, which could give assistance to scholars interested in further researching charter-related issues.

If those resources were available, postmortems could avoid a problem endemic to the charter-writing process: Leaders frequently clung to views based on little more than the weight of their Capital Campus-sized egos.

Of course, even the best research could be manipulated into political oblivion. That's exactly what happened to the sole opinion poll that the freeholders' commissioned last summer. Moderate freeholders successfully manipulated the timing, intent and results of the survey to do an end run around a growing movement to approve the most populist of the charter options.

Therein lies the second roadblock to an honest evaluation of the charter effort: politics. An extraordinary diversity of progressive leaders list, don't be surprised. From the beginning, the charter movement has been led by a relatively small group of civic activists whose quest for an abstract called "good government"

(continued next page)

What's Wrong with Our Agricultural Policy?

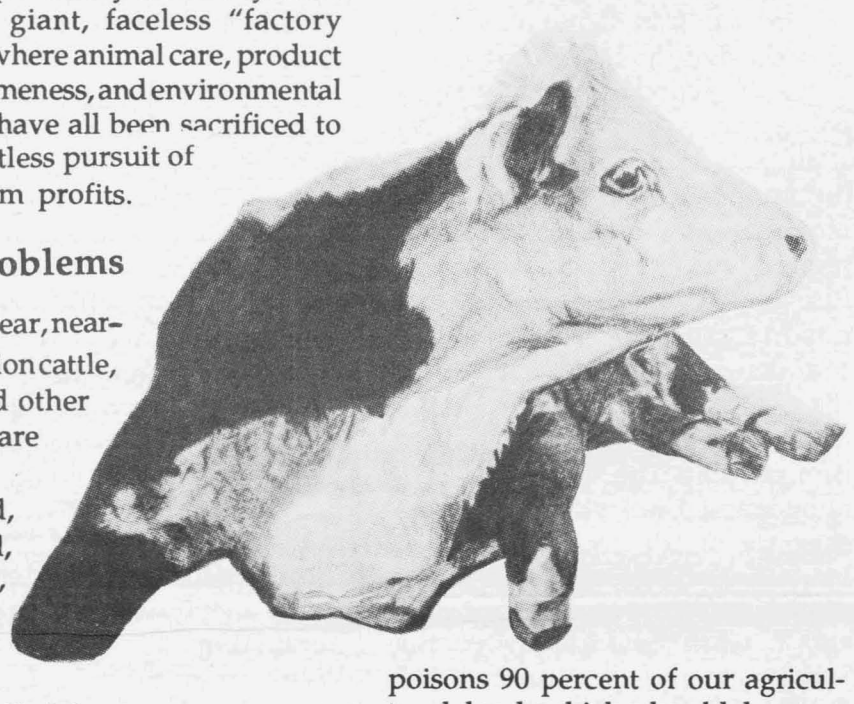
by Dr. Alex Hershaft

On October 2nd of this year, some 500 organizations throughout the U.S. observed World Food Day. Although this important annual observance was intended to focus public attention on the tragedy of world hunger, it also provides a unique opportunity to examine the broader impacts of our agricultural policy and practices on this issue.

The unchecked growth of animal agriculture has had disastrous consequences on the nation's health, animal welfare, resource conservation, and environmental quality. Production of meat and other animal products has been wrested from the tranquil family farms of yesteryear by giant, faceless "factory farms," where animal care, product wholesomeness, and environmental concern have all been sacrificed to the relentless pursuit of short-term profits.

The Problems

Each year, nearly six billion cattle, pigs, and other animals are caged, crowded, deprived, drugged, mutilated, and manhandled in U.S. factory farms, until the butcher's knife ends their agony. These animals have done us no harm, and they are capable of experiencing many of the same feelings that we do.



But, farm animals are not the only victims of factory farming. Each year, 1.5 million Americans are crippled and killed prematurely by heart failure, stroke, cancer, and other "killer" diseases that have been linked conclusively with the consumption of animal fat and meat. Moreover, meat is now considered the key carrier of infectious diseases, while antibiotics used in meat production increase the consumer's vulnerability to these diseases.

And, there's more. Raising animals for food takes an unconscionable toll of our irreplaceable natural resources. It uses, depletes, and poisons 90 percent of our agricultural land which should be conserved to feed future generations or used to feed the starving people of the Third World. Ancient forests have been leveled, wildlife habitats have been destroyed, and wildlife has been decimated to open more grazing and feed croplands. Irrigation of these lands has depleted our vital groundwater resources, while runoff from these abused lands has carried irreplaceable topsoil into our streams, contributing more pollutants than all other human activities combined.

The unchecked growth of animal agriculture has had disastrous consequences on the nation's health, animal welfare, resource conservation, and environmental quality.

U.S.D.A.'s Responsibility

The U.S. Department of Agriculture bears major responsibility for all aspects of this national tragedy. In the area of animal welfare, the U.S.D.A. has sanctioned abuse of farm animals by opposing every legislative initiative designed to improve their conditions, by failing to enforce adequately the "28-hour Law" and the "Humane Slaughter Act," and by funding genetic engineering experiments designed to create suffering, malformed genetic freaks.

In the area of consumer health, the U.S.D.A. has encouraged the consumption of more meat, animal fat, and cholesterol through promotion of the "basic four food groups" and similar guides and through application of its perverted meat grading scheme. It has sanctioned adulteration of meat products by drugs, hormones, pesticides, and harmful additives by adopting inadequate inspection standards and by failing to enforce adequately health and labeling regulations.

In the environmental area, the U.S.D.A.'s Forest Service has sanctioned the clear-cutting of ancient forests and extermination of wildlife to open more grazing and croplands to feed farm animals (the very practice we condemn so unequivocally in tropical countries). The Department has sanctioned the drastic and irreversible poisoning and depletion of critical topsoil and groundwater by promoting intensive agricultural practices and opposing introduction of low-input sustainable agriculture (LISA) approaches designed to prevent destruction of agricultural resources.

The U.S. Department of Agriculture must develop and implement a more prudent and less violent national agricultural policy designed to protect the public health, animal welfare, agricultural resources, and environmental quality. World Food Day, when the nation's and the world's attention is focused on food production, seems like an excellent opportunity to get started.

Alex Hershaft is the hard working director of Farm Animal Reform Movement (F.A.R.M.), a multi-issue animal rights organization. If you have a special interest in this topic, you may write to Dr. Hershaft at 10101 Ashburton Lane, Bethesda, MD 10817, or call (301) 530-1737.

(Charter, continued)

has been distorted by a fatal flaw: They have been committed to a technocratic rather than a populist organizing approach.

Not that we should have expected anything different of them. The charter movement has always been dominated by Capital Campus insiders. They know how to run a movement only one way — the way they and their pals run State Senate campaigns.

Unconsciously, our "best and brightest" believed they could "engineer" a major restructuring of power relationships in Thurston County without first building a truly broad-based, grassroots coalition to overcome fierce opposition from the status quo.

Not that they would admit this — even to themselves. That many still insist the charter was a grassroots phenomenon only proves how little Capital Campus insiders know about populism.

A populist movement would not have selected a slate of freeholders that offered only token representation from important components of a majority coalition, i.e. small-businesspeople (besides lawyers!), South County residents and blue-collar workers. That would be, to put it bluntly, classist. It would lead to the suspicion that the charter was created, "Of, by and for the North County yuppies." The stunning homogeneity of the freeholder board made it almost impossible for the charter movement to broaden its base beyond the wine-and-cheese set.

By the same token, true populists would not have even considered trying to pass as explosive of a ballot measure as a charter with a traditional big-buck, media-dominated, "wam-bam, thank you mam" campaign. Instead, populists would have opted for a slower-paced, grassroots approach that placed an emphasis on a sophisticated precinct-by-precinct education effort. Only that could have inoculated the charter from opponents' expected last-minute negative media blitz.

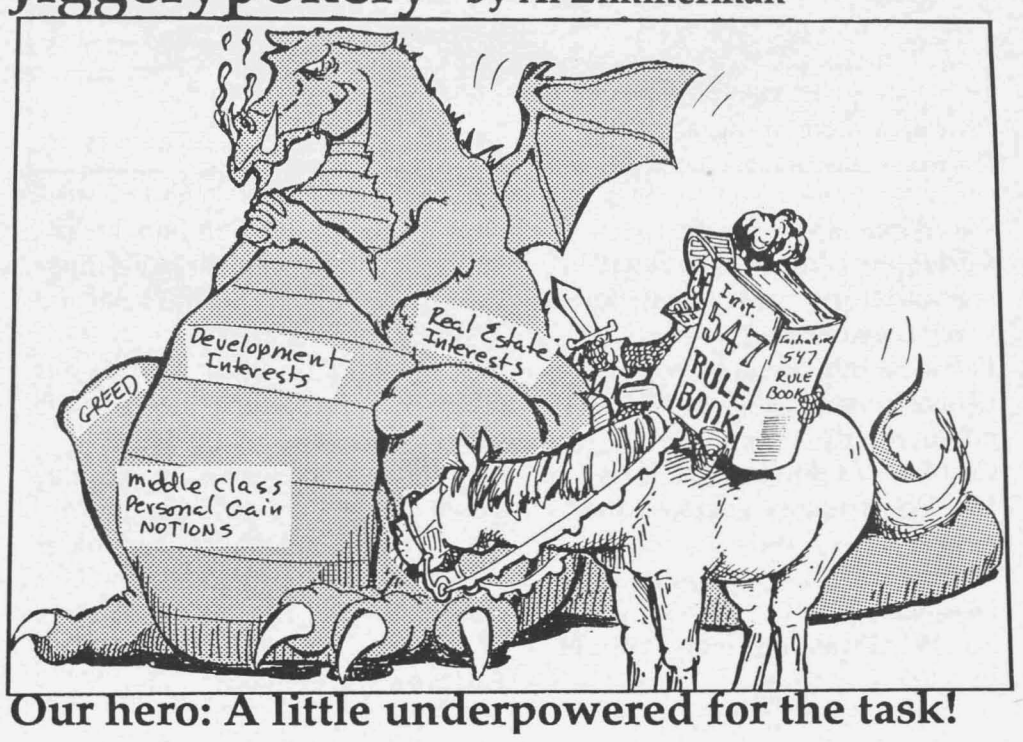
In short, the charter juggernaut did not fail because of the invincibility of negative campaigning. Or the stupidity of the voters. It bombed because of the failure of the technocratic approach. Our leaders proved to be great lawmakers but disastrous social-change agents.

We need not make the same mistakes again. We can rise like a phoenix from the rubble of our Hiroshima if we embrace the populist approach to political organizing. Now is the time to begin building, step by step, a grassroots-based majority coalition that has the muscle to pass a charter with real teeth.

Our comeback won't start until we insist that our leaders change their ways — or we find new leaders. The defeat of the charter ends the era of the technocrats. Let populist revival begin!

Steve Salmi is a freelance writer who has reported on the charter for a number of local bi-monthly newsmagazines. He lives in the Eld Watershed.

Jiggerypokery by Al Zimmerman



Our hero: A little underpowered for the task!

(Nicaraguans, continued)

stability and suffering leading to the first signs of stealing and other crimes on a scale not seen for many years.

But amidst the chaos which has been brought about by the U.S. not funding the foreign aid package because of the International Court lawsuit that President Bush wants Nicaragua to drop which in fact said the U.S. should pay Nicaragua $17 billion in damages for the illegal war, there are hopeful development projects such as in Santo Tomas where people of various skills are participating in. The youth of Santo Tomas are feeling the effects of the war and need fun things to do the trio stated and things like dancing helps to support a positive attitude for the future.

While in western Washington for the three week tour, the three "Tomasinos" visited schools, churches, government offices, Mt. Rainier and other tourist sites, and met with hundreds of persons including many solidarity network activists.

The following question and answer session was held on November 14th with Virgilio:

Q. - What modern conveniences do you have in your home such as telephones, refrigerator, television, or radio?

A - We don't have many conveniences. We have electrical outlets for lighting and TV and ironing but no refrigerators or telephones. Some government offices have air conditioners.

Q - What is your impression of the wealth or poverty you have seen during your visit to the U.S.?

A - I think the great majority have the same standard of living and wealth is attributed to the natural resources and conditions in the country. I saw forty people in Seattle who were homeless and saw some poverty. Even though we have a large debt in Nicaragua, here [in U.S.] you have the hope of reducing the debt compared to paying off the debt.

Q - You talked about a seafood company that may start in eastern Nicaragua. Do you have a fear about that?

A - There has been discussion of a Cuban-American fishing industry which would come in but this conflicts with the Law of Autonomy set up for the Atlantic Coast and the law would have to be changed but the Atlantic Coast is united against this.

Q - Do you read *Barricada* and how many Sandinista supporters are there in Santo Tomas?

A - I read all three newspapers to get a balance. I feel there are about 600 official members of the Sandinista Party in Santo Tomas and it is increasing. [Santo Tomas has a population of approximately 15,000.]

No I have no fear. I lived through the war and people can argue about politics but they can't do anything about what I've said.

Left to right: Padre Ignacio Gonzalez, Jean Eberhart (Thurston-Santo Tomas Association), Virgilio Bravo Plata

Q - Can Nicaragua continue to b model of development for Latin America and what is your view concerning the trade zone of Mexico, Canada, and the U.S.?

A - The conditions of Nicaragua aren't the same as Mexico's. We could solve some problems of the different prices if there was a common market. Honduras and Nicaragua have lower prices than Costa Rica and Guatemala. Export and imports could be better and the common market could help pay off the foreign debt. There is so much instability now that development isn't possible. The Sandinistas economic model wasn't suited for the capacity of the country and the model was being used and at the same time the war was going on and it wasn't working. Also the Sandinistas provided services but didn't allow businesses to develop and they were too paternalistic. Venezuela and Soviet Union helped us with government to government aid but the government also expelled Cuban teachers after the election.

Q - How many people are in the Sister County Association in Santo Tomas?

A - There are seven Board of Directors that handle all sister relationships. There are nine neighborhoods with four officers each and the representatives aid on a Community Development Committee. All sectors of town are represented.

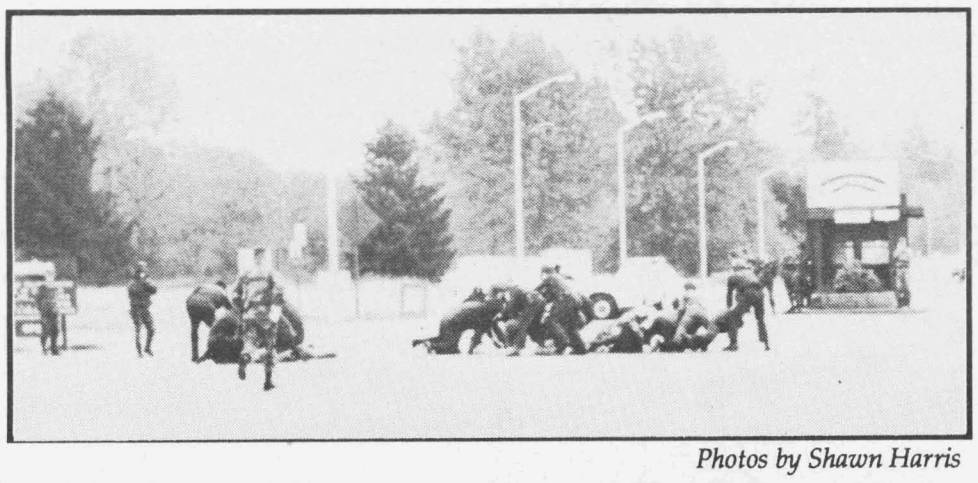
Q - Are you worried about anything you have said on the trip here in the U.S.?

A - No I have no fear. I lived through the war and people can argue about politics but they can't do anything about what I've said. We are trying to help out the people of the town and working for the welfare of Santo Tomas. The newspaper like the Rainbow paper [Works In Progress] gets news that is first hand to people and the regular news I've seen doesn't have enough balance.

There will be chances to hear what the three "Tomasinos" said with upcoming shows on Channel 31 with Jorge Gilbert and Latin America and Glen Anderson's Fellowship of Reconciliation show in December. One project for the future that the Thurston-Santo Tomas Sister County Association will be working on is to fund a new teachers union office which can also educate people in bookkeeping and typing skills. Because of this visit many more people have joined the Association and new sister-church relations have begun as well as planning for a trip to Santo Tomas for Thurston County residents. Please call 943-8642 or 786-9505 for more details or attend regular meetings on the third Monday of each month at 7:00 pm at the First United Methodist Church on Legion Way for the Thurston-Santo Tomas Sister County Association.

(Disobedience,continued.)

Ceridwen: About two and half hours. We were taken inside the Fort to the Fort theater which had been transformed into a processing station for the occasion. We were finger printed and searched. I was spread eagled against a wall and searched.



Photos by Shawn Harris

Pat: When is your trial?
Ceridwen: I don't know. It will be a mandatory court appearance when they decide.
Pat: Will this be on your permanent record as a misdemeanor, felony or what?
Ceridwen: I don't know.
Pat: Do you have a defense attorney?
Ceridwen: No, I'm looking for a free attorney.
Pat: What was your biggest doubt or fear?
Ceridwen: Fantasies of being shot, lined up against the truck, when we were being hauled off. It felt like a firing line. I was scared about how I would be treated.
Pat: Would you do this again?
Ceridwen: Yes, but I want to start talking to more young people in high schools - speaking out and making civil disobedience count - make it clear to the opposition and have a strong coalition like the Anti-intervention Coalition behind me and other CD protesters.
Pat: Do you recommend this for others who feel strongly against the war?
Ceridwen: Yes. We need to organize a civil disobedience training for others. The military police were older men who hadn't forgotten the 60's demonstrators. They weren't joking. They meant business.
Pat: How old are you?
Ceridwen: Twenty years old.
Pat: What are you studying at Evergreen?
Ceridwen: Media and Culture. How media influences culture. I took a tape recorder and camera to the demonstration. I wanted to record it. I want to make a film on homelessness in Olympia next quarter.
Pat: Where is your home town?
Ceridwen: Portland.
Pat: What do your parents think? Are they concerned?
Ceridwen: Supportive, but worried as hell. My mother is teaching a class on the Viet Nam War at Mount Hood Community College this fall on the literature of the Vietnam War. Through her work there, she is giving the community college students an insight into what happened then. Like, who the victims were of the war then and now. She feels these students will be the victims, the ones who are sent to fight because so many students see the only way to get into college is through the military - GI bill.

Any good lawyers out there who would donate services to people who have or will stand up for their beliefs by participating in civil disobedience? Call Anti-Intervention Coalition at 866-9231.

Pat Holm , who is a member of the Works In Progress Editorial Board , is a very kind soul.

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